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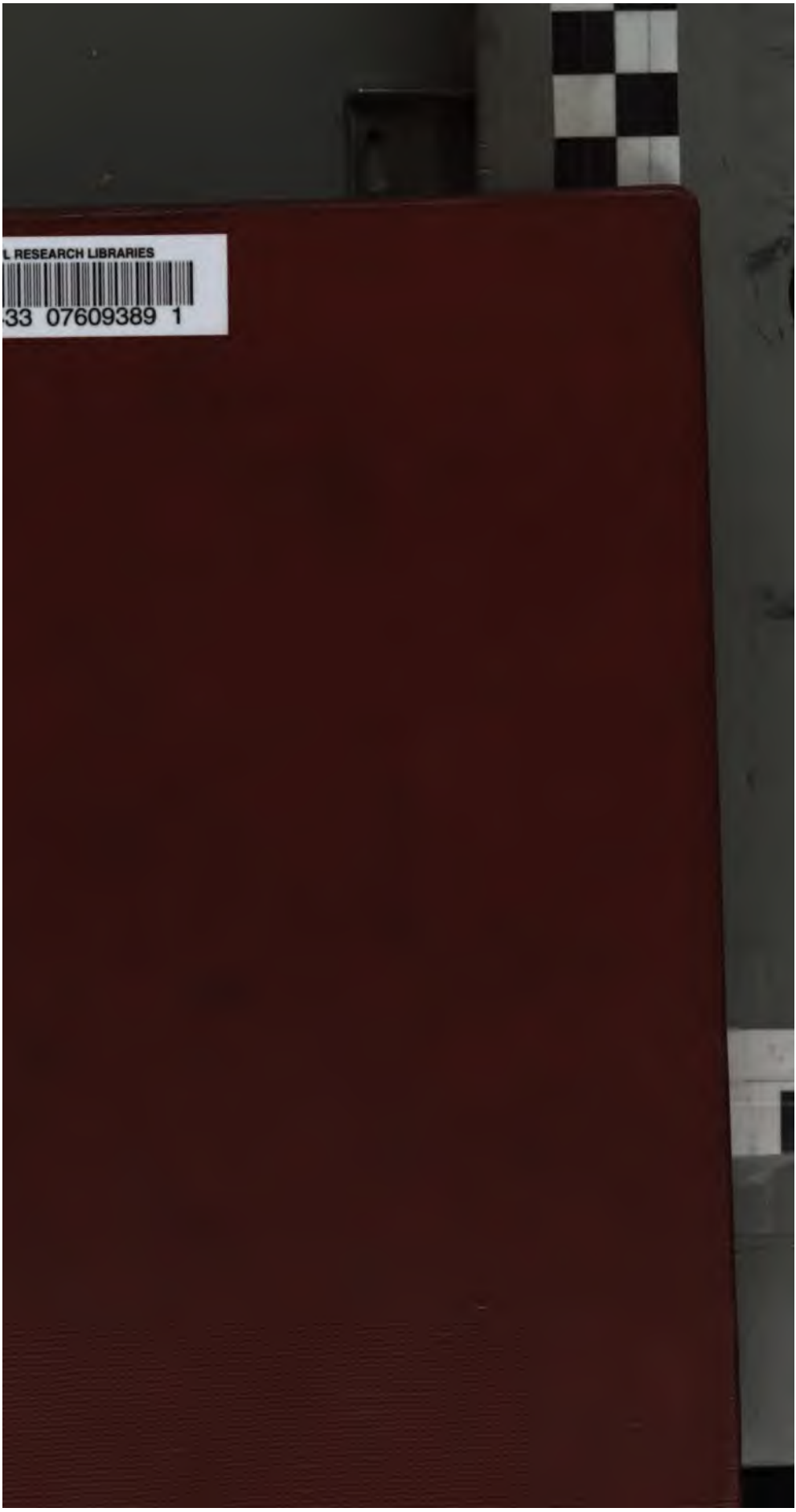
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THE SISTER COMFORTS HER BROTHER

Dear brother, I am very sorry to see you in this melancholy, discouraged condition

EDITION DE LUXE

THE WORKS OF

Daniel Defoe

VOL. VIII

Due Preparations for the Plague

AS WELL FOR SOUL AS BODY

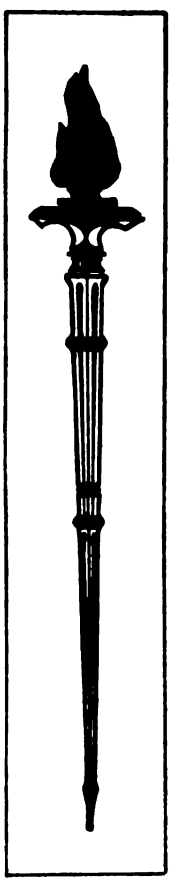
The King of Pirates

BEING AN ACCOUNT OF

THE FAMOUS ENTERPRISES OF CAPTAIN AVERY

WITH

LIVES OF OTHER PIRATES AND ROBBERS



INTRODUCTION BY GUSTAVUS HOWARD MAYNADIER

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INTRODUCTION

DUE Preparations for the Plague, as well for Soul as Body, was published in 1722. Whether it came out before or after the *Journal of the Plague Year*, which appeared in March of the same year, cannot be definitely said. Though Mr. Lee accidentally omitted the *Due Preparations* from the catalogue of Defoe's works prefixed to the first volume of his *Daniel Defoe*, there can be little doubt that the book was from Defoe's pen. It was on a subject which we know, from *A Journal of the Plague Year*, greatly interested him; and portions of the book deal with incidents mentioned in the better known *Journal*. Besides, as Mr. Aitken has shown,[1] *Due Preparations for the Plague* is full of Defoe's mannerisms, both in vocabulary and in narrative method. "Neither — or" is an instance of the former; the use of dialogue in the second part, of the latter. There seems to be no good reason for doubting Defoe's authorship.

It is commonly said that Defoe wrote *Due Preparations for the Plague* for the same purpose as *A Journal of the Plague Year*, namely to rouse people to take precautions against the plague which had

[1] Introduction to Vol. XV., *Romances and Narratives by Daniel Defoe*, — London, 1901.

been raging in Marseilles in 1720 and 1721. That Defoe was actuated somewhat by public-spirited motives in writing his two works on the plague is likely, but it is even likelier that he was led to compose them by his shrewd commercial sense. He was aware that the interest in the Marseilles plague would give them a good sale.

Due Preparations for the Plague reads for the most part like a continuation of the more famous *Journal of the Plague Year*. Showing what preparations, both spiritual and material, should be made for the disease, by instances cited from the Great Plague, it becomes very much like the *Journal* in tone, though it is not so evenly interesting. A reader's interest cannot but flag in the second part, when he struggles with the tedious religious cant of the sister who warns her brother to be spiritually ready for the pestilence. In some of the verbose, unnatural conversation here, Defoe appears at his worst. When a reader, however, comes to the story of the sister's taking refuge from the pestilence with her two brothers on a ship which drops down the Thames, his interest revives. And nothing in the *Journal* itself is better narrative than the story, in the first part of *Due Preparations*, of the family "in the parish of St. Alban's, Wood Street," who, in order to escape the sickness, lived shut up in their house, without once going out, from the fourteenth of July to the first of December.

Immediately following *Due Preparations for the Plague* will be found a short history with a very long title, namely: — *The Dumb Philosopher: or, Great*

INTRODUCTION

Britain's Wonder, containing I. A Faithful and very Surprising Account, how Dickory Cronke, a Tinner's Son, in the County of Cornwall, was born Dumb, and continued so for 58 years; and how, some Days before he Died, he came to his Speech. With Memoirs of his Life, and the manner of his Death. II. A Declaration of his Faith and Principles in Religion: With a Collection of Select Meditations composed in his Retirement. III. His Prophetical Observations upon the Affairs of Europe, more particularly of Great Britain, from 1720 *to* 1729. *The whole extracted from his original Papers, and confirmed by unquestionable authority. To which is annexed, His Elegy, written by a young Cornish Gentleman, of Exeter Coll. in Oxford. With an Epitaph by another Hand.*

This curious pamphlet was published in October, 1719, nearly a year and a half after the subject of it, according to Defoe's statement, had died. It is probable that the history was founded on fact. Dickory Cronke was very likely a real man like Duncan Campbell and the criminals whose lives are sketched in the volume which is to follow this. He did not achieve the notoriety of any of these, however. On the contrary, he lived obscurely in Wales or the southwest of England, and his reputation may be supposed to have been purely local. For this reason, unlike his contemporary dumb man, Campbell, who for years was a much visited fortune-teller of the metropolis, Dickory Cronke died unknown to fame. There is no mention of him in either contemporary periodicals or the *Dictionary of National Biography*; and

in 1901, such a careful student of Defoe as Mr. G. A. Aitken had been unable to get any information about him.

The Elegy and the Epitaph at the end of the history are as likely to have been Defoe's as the work of "a young Cornish Gentleman" of Exeter College, or of the gentleman, who, having "heard much in commendation" of the dumb man, was said to have written his epitaph. At all events, the verses which Defoe wrote on *The Character of the late Dr. Samuel Annesley, by Way of Elegy* in 1697 are much like those on Cronke, as a few lines will show: —

> "A Heavenly Patience did his Mind possess,
> Cheerful in Pain and thoughtful in Distress;
> Mighty in Works of Sacred Charity,
> Which none knew better how to guide than he;
> Bounty and generous thoughts took up his Mind,
> Extensive, like his Maker's, to Mankind."

The old graveyards of New England can show many epitaphs neither better nor worse than this.

Following *The Dumb Philosopher*, will be found two interesting bits of narrative by Defoe: — *A True Relation of the Apparition of one Mrs. Veal, the next Day after her Death, to one Mrs. Bargrave at Canterbury, the 8th of September*, 1705. *Which Apparition recommends the Perusal of Drelincourt's Book of Consolations against the Fears of Death*, and *The Destruction of the Isle of St. Vincent.* The former of these is one of the best known compositions of Defoe. From the time that Scott[1] selected it as a

[1] *Biographical Memoirs: Daniel DeFoe.*

good example of Defoe's power of imparting reality to his narratives, it has been especially famous, and deservedly so; though apparently it does not show Defoe's inventive powers so much as Scott thought.

Scott mentions an old tradition to the effect that Defoe wrote the *Apparition* as a puff for Drelincourt's book of *Consolations against the Fears of Death*, and he calls it an instance of Defoe's bold invention that he "summoned up a ghost from the grave to bear witness in favour of a halting body of divinity." It is a pity that nowadays doubt attaches to this story of Defoe's writing a puff for Drelincourt's book, for it is exactly what he would have been likely to do. Mr. Lee, however, in his *Daniel Defoe*,[1] argues that *Mrs. Veal* was written for no such purpose. Drelincourt's book, he states, was in no need of such a puff. The third edition sold very well, but the fourth, which contained a reprint of Defoe's *Apparition*, was slow in selling. After this the *Apparition of Mrs. Veal* was sometimes printed with Drelincourt's book and sometimes not, till the eleventh edition, from which, to the present time, according to Lee, "Drelincourt has never been published without it." For my part, I do not feel that this testimony entirely disproves the old story. On the other hand, it proves that from the first, there was some connection between Defoe's pamphlet and Drelincourt. The fact that the first edition of Drelincourt which included the *Apparition* did not sell so well as a previous edition without the *Apparition*, proves not that Defoe did not write his pamphlet partly for a

[1] London, 1869, Vol. I., page 127.

puff, but rather that the puff was not successful. And though Drelincourt's book is not the only one which the ghost of Mrs. Veal recommends to Mrs. Bargrave, fully twice as much space is given to this as to the book next most commended, Norris's *Friendship in Perfection*, and much more praise. After all, may it not have occurred to Defoe, as he wrote *The Apparition of Mrs. Veal*, that in telling a remarkable contemporary story, he might incidentally do Drelincourt some service?

That *Mrs. Veal* was a contemporary story now seems clear; we are no longer to accept it as a marvellous instance of Defoe's power of invention. A few readers to-day will believe that Mrs. Bargrave actually saw the apparition which Defoe described; a great many more will believe the whole thing to have been an hallucination. However that may be, Mr. Aitken[1] has proved that the remarkable story was current when Defoe's *Apparition* was published, and that it was told of real people. There were two families of Bargraves in Canterbury at the time, to either of which Mrs. Veal's friend might have belonged. There were also Watsons in Canterbury. At Dover, there was a William Veal who was Comptroller of the Customs in 1719, and therefore, as Defoe said, may well have had a place in the Custom House in 1705. What is more, according to the Parish register of St. Mary's, Dover, a Mrs. Veal was buried on the tenth of September, 1705; that is,

[1] *Defoe's Apparition of Mrs. Veal, Nineteenth Century*, January, 1895; and introduction to the 15th vol. of *Romances and Narratives by Daniel Defoe*. J. M. Dent, London, 1901.

three days after her death as stated by Defoe. And finally Mr. Aitken has found evidence of an interview with Mrs. Bargrave in a note at the beginning of a copy of the *Apparition* published with an edition of Drelincourt about 1710, — a note which states that the writer talked with Mrs. Bargrave "on May 21, 1714," and learned from her that everything in Defoe's account of the *Apparition* was substantially true.

Though all this proves Defoe to have made use of little invention in *Mrs. Veal*, it does not prove that the persuasive reality of the story is not due to his way of telling it. Any one who attempts to write out a prosy conversation like that between Mrs. Veal's supposed ghost and Mrs. Bargrave will soon discover the difficulty in making it seem real.

It has commonly been supposed of Defoe, as of all great writers, that he took most of the situations of his stories ready-made, spending his inventive force chiefly on the detail. This late discovery about the source of *Mrs. Veal* shows that even detail he would take ready-made, when he could find it. Possibly he did so more than we have hitherto believed. If so, his rapid productiveness, though still astonishing, would not be quite so marvellous as it has seemed.

If *Mrs. Veal*, on the whole, is a story which shows little of Defoe's invention, *The Destruction of the Isle of St. Vincent*, which concludes this volume, seems to show a great deal. It is possible that Defoe made this up out of whole cloth. On the other hand, some rumour of the destruction of the island may

have reached him, which he would not scruple to elaborate into a sensational newspaper article. Accordingly, on July 5th, 1718, there appeared in *Mist's Journal*, the Jacobite periodical with which Defoe connected himself in 1717, the amazing story of the destruction of the island. It is interesting to-day for two reasons. It shows what Defoe's imagination could do, when he gave it full swing; and it is remarkable for its many resemblances to the authentic stories of the frightful disaster at St. Pierre, Martinique, in May, 1902. The volcano of Mount Pelée then actually did what Defoe imagined the island of St. Vincent to do on the twenty-sixth of March, 1718.

The only retraction of Defoe's circumstantial fabrication about the destruction of St. Vincent was the following notice in *Mist's Journal* for August 2, 1718.

"*The Island of St. Vincent Not Destroyed.*

They pretend to tell us a strange Story, viz., that the Island of St. Vincent is found again, and is turn'd into a Volcano, or burning Mountain; but we must acknowledge we do not believe one word of it."

G. H. MAYNADIER

AUTHOR'S INTRODUCTION

BEFORE I enter upon the subject of preparation for so terrible a visitation as this of the plague, it is meet I should say something of the reasons we have to be apprehensive of it in this nation. If the reasons of our fears are not good, the seasonableness of the whole work will be called in question, and it may be looked on as an officious prophesying of evil tidings. To talk of preparation for a danger which we are not in danger of would be a needless alarming the people, and is a thing oftentimes attended with ill consequences to the public, being injurious to commerce, to credit, and to the civil peace.

Blessed be God, the evil is yet at a distance, and the danger may be said to be remote; but as we (1) find it to be a terrible spreading distemper, furious and raging beyond what was ever known in this country, sweeping away old and young till it has desolated whole towns and even some populous cities; (2) that it spreads apace this way, having already advanced itself above 100 miles in these eight months past, and that we have some reason to believe that it was come much nearer than they allowed us to know of; on these accounts, I think, it is reasonable at least to put ourselves in a posture not to be surprised if we should meet with the same here.

Besides, I am far from being singular in my apprehensions; the Government are evidently in the same concern; and therefore we have had several Proclamations, Orders of Council, and other directions for ships performing quarantine, and for goods to be opened and aired which come from suspected places; and one Act of Parliament has been passed to enforce those orders upon the highest penalties, nay, even upon pain of death. And so cautious was the Parliament in this point that they put the nation to the expense of £25,000 sterling to burn two Turkish ships which were but suspected to have goods on board which might contain an infection, and which might bring the plague among us, which £25,000 has been paid to the merchants and owners of the ships and cargo in satisfaction of the damages done them.

Can any man say that the Government have not had occasion for these measures? Let such look to what has been done in Holland, where they not only burned two ships, but hanged a man for attempting to save some goods out of the wreck of one ship that was cast away, and which should otherwise have been burnt as coming from places infected or supposed to be infected with the plague.

Now, while we receive daily such afflicting and melancholy accounts from abroad of the spreading of the plague and of its approaches this way, and find not only private persons but even the Government itself, and neighbouring Governments also, justly alarmed, who can be wholly unconcerned about it? Certain it is, that if it proceeds much farther, noth-

ing but the distinguishing goodness of God can be said to keep it from reaching hither, the intercourse of commerce and the many necessary occasions of passing and repassing between the two kingdoms being so great, and a full stop of that intercourse being so many ways impracticable, as we see it is.

If, then, we are in expectation and under just apprehension of it, what appearance is there of our preparations for it? Never less, I think, was to be seen in any nation under heaven, whether we speak of preparations to avoid and escape it, or of preparations to wait and expect it; whether we speak of preparations for the soul or for the body. And this alone has been the occasion of writing this book.

We have, indeed, some physicians who have given their opinions in the matter of our managing ourselves with respect to medicine, in case of the plague breaking out among us, and unto this purpose they treat a little (though very superficially) of the nature of the disease, the best preventive remedies, &c. But even in this part, however (as I said, superficial at best), yet they differ with, contradict, and oppose one another, and leave their readers as uncertain and dissatisfied, as far to seek, and at a loss for their conduct, as they were before.

As to the other part, and what we should think of doing when we set such an awful providence in a clear light before us, with respect to our religious preparations, and for our meeting and submitting ourselves to all the dispensations of Providence of what kind soever, which, doubtless, is the duty of every

Christian — of this, indeed, I have seen, I may say, nothing at all offered in public; on the contrary, the whole world is intent and busy on their ordinary occasions. Men pursue the usual course of the world; they push their interest, their gain, or their pleasures and gaiety with the same gust, or rather more than ever. Nay, the cry of the nation's follies grows louder and louder every day, and so far we are from considering that, when God's judgments are abroad in the earth, the inhabitants should learn righteousness, that we are rather learning to be more superficially wicked than ever; witness the increase of plays and playhouses, one being now building, though so many already in use; witness the public trading and stock-jobbing on the Sabbath day; witness the raging avarice of the times, by which the civil interest of the nation is ruined and destroyed; witness also our feuds, divisions, and heats, as well in religious differences as those that are political, which are all carried up to dreadful extremes.

Upon these many accounts this work has been set on foot, which, though in the design of it 't is calculated for the present particular occasion of the terrors we are under about the plague, which I may very well call impending, yet may be useful many ways, both to us and to posterity, though we should be spared from that portion of this bitter cup which I verily believe is reserved for us.

To make this discourse familiar and agreeable to every reader, I have endeavoured to make it as historical as I could, and have therefore intermingled it with some accounts of fact, where I could come at

them, and some by report, suited to and calculated for the moral, endeavouring by all possible and just methods to encourage the great work of preparation, which is the main end of this undertaking.

The cases I have stated here are suited with the utmost care to the circumstances past, and more especially as they are reasonably supposed to suit those to come; and as I very particularly remember the last visitation of this kind which afflicted this nation in 1665, and have had occasion to converse with many other persons who lived in this city all the while, I have chosen some of their cases as precedents for our present instructions. I take leave so far to personate the particular people in their histories as is needful to the case in hand without making use of their names, though in many cases I could have descended to the very names and particulars of the persons themselves.

But 't is the example that is the thing aimed at. The application to the same measures is argued from the reason and nature of the thing as well as from the success, and I recommend the experiments said here to be made no farther than they appear rational and just, with whatever success they have been practised. As to the religious history here mentioned, till I see some just exception raised against the pattern laid before us in every part of it, I cannot suggest there will lie any against the manner of relating it, and for that reason I make no apology for that part, but proceed direct to the work itself.

DUE PREPARATIONS FOR THE PLAGUE,

AS WELL FOR SOUL AS BODY

DUE PREPARATIONS FOR THE PLAGUE

PERHAPS my method in the preparations I am now to speak of may be something singular; but I hope they shall not be the less profitable. I shall make no more introductions. I divide my subject into two generals: —

1. Preparations against the Plague.
2. Preparations for the Plague.

The first of these I call preparations for the body.

The second I call preparations for the soul.

Both, I hope, may be useful for both, and especially the first shall be subservient to the last.

1. Preparations against the Plague; and these I divide into (1) General, Public, and National Preparations, namely, for keeping it out of the country or city or town we live in, and preventing its spreading and penetrating from one place to another; the measures which are now taking, being, I must needs say, very deficient; and (2) Particular Preparations, such as relate to persons and families for preserving us from infection in our houses, when it pleases God that it shall come into the city, or place wherein we live.

General preparations seem to be confined to the measures which the Government or magistrates may

take to preserve the people from infection. The main thing the Government seem to have their eyes upon in this nation is to limit and prohibit commerce with places infected, and restrain the importation of such goods as are subject to be infected; here it is granted that some goods are apt more than others to retain the poisonous effluvia which they may have received in foreign parts, and, by consequence, are apt to emit those effluvias again when they arrive here and come to be spread. These poisonous or infectious effluvia, or particles, as some call them, take hold or seize upon the people who are handling them. I need not enumerate the particular sorts of goods which are thus esteemed susceptible of infection. Abundance has been said on that subject by other authors, and all our proclamations, Acts of Parliament, &c., which have been passed on this subject, have taken notice of them.

It is true that, as I have hinted before, our Government have seemed sufficiently careful to settle such limitations of commerce, prohibitions, and quarantines as have been necessary to be observed by ships and passengers coming into his Majesty's dominions, with respect to the places suspected as well as to such as are known to be now visited, and also to extend those limitations and restrictions to more places and ports as they have thought fit, and as the infection has been found to advance nearer and nearer; and had the injunctions thus laid on our people been punctually and duly observed, possibly we might with some ground have been encouraged to hope for deliverance, or at least to have flattered our-

selves with a possibility of guarding our principal places against it.

But I must not omit that we are not a nation qualified so well to resist the progress of such a distemper, or the entrance of it into our country, as others are. We have a set of men among us so bent upon their gain, by that we call clandestine trade, that they would even venture to import the plague itself if they were to get by it, and so give it to all that lived near them, not valuing the gross and horrid injustice that they do to other people. What a man ventures for himself is nothing, because it is his own act and deed; but what he ventures for others is the worst of violence upon them, and perhaps, in such a case as this, is the worst sort of murder.

This vice in our commerce is introduced by the necessity this nation has been in of clogging foreign trade with heavy duties and imports, which gives encouragement to smugglers and runners of goods to venture at all hazards to bring such goods in upon us privately, and these men, I doubt I may say without injuring them, value not what the goods are or whence they come, so they can but bring them on shore free of the duties and imports I speak of. We have examples of this before us, which justifies the charge, and I need say no more to prove it.

The preparations against the plague in this case must be the work of the Government. It is confessed that this is a difficulty even to the Government itself, and it will be hard to say what they can do more than is done effectually to prevent this

dreadful trade; and without some very great severity, I believe it will never be done; and yet till it is done we cannot pretend to take effectual measures in this nation for preventing the plague coming among us.

The physicians seem at present to fall in with the French methods, viz., of preventing the spreading of infection by surrounding the towns where it shall happen to be with troops of soldiers, cutting off all communication with the countries or parts of the country where such towns are that shall be infected. This Dr. Mead has been pleased to propose also in his treatise called "A Short Discourse."

I must confess I do not see that this can be made practicable in England, and we see already it has not been effectual in France, notwithstanding greater severities have been used there than I presume will ever be allowed to be used here. For example, the plague began in Provence, in a part of the country the most easily separated from the rest of the world of any that can be singled out on their side, as will appear by the situation of the country. The south part of Provence, or, as some call it, the Lower Provence, is surrounded by water on three sides, and by the unpassable mountains of Piedmont and Nice on the fourth side; that is to say, it is bounded by the sea from the said mountains to the mouth of the great river Rhone, on the south; on the west it is bounded by the said river Rhone to the mouth of the Durance, on the south side of the district of Avignon; and on the north it is bounded by the said river Durance, to the mouth of the river

Verdon, and thence by the river Verdon to the foot of the said mountains of Piedmont.

On the south side, 't is allowed, there needed no guard, and the nature of the thing armed all the world from receiving any vessel coming from Provence, or suffering the people out of them to land; and if I am not misinformed, several people that did put to sea (as it were desperate from thence) are still missing, and it is believed have perished at sea, having not been allowed to set their feet on shore in any part of the world.

On the side of the river Rhone the west banks of the river have been so well guarded that nothing has been able to pass; and though the islands in the mouth of the Rhone have been infected, the distressed people of Arles, having almost by force gotten out among them at La Canourgue, Salon, and other places, yet the river being great and the navigation of it wholly stopped, the distemper has been kept off on that side.

On the east side also the mountains and the frontiers of Nice have been so well guarded by the troops of Piedmont, and the passes of those mountains are so few, so difficult, and so easy to be closed up, that very few of the people have attempted to escape that way, and those that have attempted it have been fired at and driven back, or if pressing forward have been killed.

But on the north side the case has been quite different, for the Durance and the Verdon are smaller rivers, and in many places fordable; so that in spite of all the guards placed in their lines, and the vigilance

of the patrols on the bank of the river, men have made their escape in the dark, and by private ways have gotten into the mountains, and from thence, being acquainted with the country, have passed on from place to place till they have found retreats, and have been received by their friends, and concealed as they desired. Some indeed have been discovered and have been driven back, and others have been killed; but certain it is, that among the many of these desperate people which have thus got away, some have been touched with the contagion — nay, some that perhaps have thought themselves sound and in health, and these have carried it with them to the places where they have made their retreat.

Thus a galley slave who made his escape from Marseilles, and, as it is said, reached to his brother's house at La Canourgue in the Gavandan, carried the plague with him; and thus it broke out at once one hundred and forty miles off Marseilles, and all the precautions, guards, lines, patrols, &c., used to prevent its coming out of the Nether Provinces, were at once defeated.

By the same accident it has spread itself in the Gavandan from one village to another, and from one town to another, till, as by the last account we are told, above an hundred villages and towns are visited in that part of the country, and the infection is spread into the Vivarais on one side, the diocese of Uzes on another, the province of Auvergne on a third, and into Rouergue on a fourth side, and yet at all these places the towns infected are immediately invested, and all communication with them cut off as soon

as it is known they are infected, and all the other regulations observed which are directed by the Government there.

This now is the effect of surrounding of towns with lines and with soldiers, and imprisoning the people against their will, forbidding the sound separating themselves from the sick, which they must needs take for an insufferable cruelty, and by which means they make the people desperate and mad. So that rather than stay in the place to be poisoned with the breath of dying people, and be certainly infected with the stench of bodies dead or sick of the plague, they venture at all hazards to make their escape, and, in effecting this, infect their friends; and thus it will be among us, I doubt not, if ever such methods are put in practice here.

Besides, as they can have no pretence to invest a town, or prohibit the inhabitants from quitting it, till it is infected, they put those inhabitants upon all possible means of concealing the infection when it is begun, till those who are in the secret of it can make their escape; and thus they travel securely with the distemper upon them, and emit the effluvia of infection wherever they come. Thus the city of Avignon was infected a month and seven days, viz., from the 17th of August to the 23rd of September, before it was publicly known in the country round; so that people went freely into the city from all the villages about Avignon, and the citizens went freely out into the country, and the distemper was fetched by one and carried by the other, without any precaution to all the neighbouring towns for several

leagues round the place, several of which towns are more fatally touched with the contagion than the city itself, as Bedarrides and Sorgues on the north, Barbantine on the south, and even at length the city of Orange itself; and now they are obliged to quit the old lines and post on the bank of the river Durance, and to draw a new line near a hundred miles in length, to wit, from St. Paul Trois Châteaux on the Rhone to Montbron east, and from thence down to Lauris on the Durance on the south, and so on the bank of that river to its fall into the Rhone west; and yet all these lines seem not to be capable to effect the thing proposed by them, for when the inhabitants are thus made desperate by locking up the sound with the sick, they do and will find ways to escape, whatever hazards it may be to themselves or others.

Whereas, if the people were left at their liberty, except as was practised here in the time of the last visitation, viz., by shutting up houses known to be infected, — I say, if the people were left at liberty, those that did flee at all, would flee because they were infected, and thereby save their lives, and likewise not carry the distemper with them when they went.

In the next place, the cutting off of the communication of one part of the country with another in England would be such a general interruption of trade, that it would entirely ruin the countries and towns so cut off, and the people would be very tumultuous and uneasy upon that head.

It seems to me a much more rational method, that as soon as any town or village appears to be

visited, all the sound people of the town be immediately removed and obliged to go to some certain particular place, where barracks should be built for them, or tents pitched for them, and where they should be obliged to perform a quarantine of days, and after that to be admitted to go whither they pleased, except back to the town from whence they came; if they thought fit to remain where they were till the town or village infected was entirely restored, and had been so for a full quarantine, then they might be admitted again; and if any families proved to have the distemper in their encampment, they should remove again, leaving the sick families behind. And thus continually moving the sound from the sick, the distemper would abate, of course, and the contagion be less strong by how much fewer persons were affected with it.

Nothing is more certain than that the contagion strengthens, and the infectious particles in the air, if any such there are, increase in quantity, as the greater number of sick bodies are kept together. The effluvia emitted from the bodies infected are more rank and more contagious, and are carried farther in the air the more bodies are infected, and are therefore more apt to be received from house to house; and were it possible for all the people in the populous cities and towns in England to separate on such an occasion as this, and spread themselves over the whole kingdom in smaller numbers, and at proper distances from one another 't is evident even to demonstration, that the plague would have but very little power, and the effects of it be very little felt. For we

see evidently that the plague is carried from one to another by infected persons conversing with one another, or by clothes, goods, household stuff or merchandise (which have been infected) being carried from one place to another, and not by any general stagnation of air, or noxious fumes infecting the air, or poisonous particles carried by the winds from one country to another, or from one city to another, as some have imagined.

The effluvia of infected bodies may, and must be indeed, conveyed from one to another by air; so words are conveyed from the mouth of the speaker to the ear of the hearer by the interposition and vibration of the air, and the like of all sounds; but those effluvias cannot extend themselves a great way, but, like ill smells, as they spread they die in the air, or ascend and separate, lose themselves, and are rarefied in the air, so as to lose all their noxious or infectious quality; as the flavour of an orange garden, which in calm weather would be most sensibly felt at a distance all round the trees, will be lost immediately in a high wind, and be only smelt that way which the wind blows.

In the like case, I would caution those people who live in the outparts of, or adjacent places to, infected towns, to observe the blowing of the winds, and if the wind blows from the city towards them, let them for the time keep their windows shut on that side next the said town or city infected, and especially not stand talking or drawing in the air into their mouths that way; but if the wind blows the other way, and blows to the said infected city or town, then

they may freely open their windows and doors, and breathe and talk as they will; and this because the stench of the town may be carried some small length on the wings of the wind. But let no man fill the heads of his neighbours with the whimsey of doing this at any considerable distance, such as four or five miles or more, the nature of the thing making it impossible that the poisonous effluvia can keep together so long, or fly so low, as in that part of the air we breathe in, at so great a distance from the place.

If, on the contrary, we pretend by lines and troops to invest or surround any infected place, or a part of the country where such an infected town may lie, I affirm that it is not to be expected that this can be so effectually done as to be certain that none of the people shall get out; and besides the cruelty of locking up so many sound people with the sick, I say, it will never be effectually done.

First of all, for the standing troops, they are not sufficient in number, and 't is supposed the Parliament will hardly consent to raise a new army for such a purpose. As for the militia, how far they may be depended upon for such a service I refer to judgment. The militia are composed of the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns and counties where they serve; it will not be easy to prevent their conniving at the escape of an innocent neighbour, or to prevail upon them to kill a poor honest countryman for endeavouring only to save his own life, or to prevent their taking money to wink and look another way, or to take a wrong aim if they shoot; and,

after all, suppose them faithful, it will not be difficult for bold and resolute men, who, being made desperate by the distress they are in, care not for the risk, and are as willing to die one way as another,— I say, it will not be so difficult for twenty or thirty men to join together in the night, and, with arms in their hands, to break through the militiamen, who, 't is known, are not great scholars at the trade of soldiering, when, if they were regular troops, they would not venture it upon any terms.

I shall not enter here upon the debate of the invasion of liberty, and the ruin of property, which must necessarily attend such a practice as this, I mean in case of investing towns. The equity of the case does by no means agree with things done in cases of other extremities, as the blowing up of houses in case of fire, drowning lands in case of an enemy, and the like; but this is really shedding innocent blood, which is a kind of evil not to be done that good may come, no, not of any kind.

More especially I object against this, as it is not likely to answer the means proposed. For example, should an infected person, by any adventure whatever, land at a town on our coast, and, which God of His infinite mercy avert, should he infect the family where he is lodged, shall twenty or thirty thousand people, who perhaps inhabit that town, be immediately surrounded, and, as it were, tied to the infected family till five parts in six of them perish? This was, as I am informed, the case of the city of Toulon, only that the number dead there was exceedingly more; certainly, if on the first surprise the inhabitants had

been permitted, or indeed ordered, to retire to some proper place at a distance from the city, and separated as they might have been, the lives of forty thousand people in that town, and the villages near it, had been saved.

It is true that in the time of the last great plague here houses infected were shut up, and it is true that the shutting up of a house is the same thing in its proportion, for that the sound are there shut up with the sick, as it is in a town; but the case with submission is not the same, for here the sound have time to go away. They may conceal the infected sick person so long, till they that are willing in the family to remove are removed, and then they are not driven back again like murderers, or shot dead for going away.

Besides, in private houses there is some difference in the equity of it, how they are all of a family, and have some obligation upon them to take the risk one with another; but it is not the same in a whole town, and I cannot but think men have a natural right to flee for the preservation of their lives, especially while they are sound and untainted with the infection; and 't is a piece of cruelty inconsistent with reason, that because the distemper has reached suppose a house or family at one end of a town, that therefore the families at the other end of the town who are untouched should be imprisoned, and be bound to stay where they are till it comes to them; and thus, as it were, condemn them to death for that which is their disaster, not their crime, and kill those people for the good of others, of whom the others are in no danger.

As for the arguments drawn from necessity and the public safety, 't is fully answered in the proposal above of removing the sound people wholly from the place, and causing them to encamp either in tents or barracks, as the season will permit, till the infection is over.

And this I take to be a much better way (especially where the towns are not too large) than removing the sick immediately into barracks, because the sound can go safely away from the sick, and injure nobody in the remove; whereas the people to be concerned in removing the sick, and the houses they go out of, nay, even the air as they go along, may receive the infection from them, and it may be many ways dangerous to remove them, as well to others as to themselves. But there is no danger of any kind in the sound going away from the sick, except the danger of any infected person going with them, which must be carefully guarded against; and they must remove their camp as often as they find that happen.

It is true this cannot be done in London, or in other considerable cities in general; that is to say, not by all the inhabitants; and there will be always a great number of people who care not to remove, whatever hazard they run. Some, if they should remove, know not whither to go; others have not sufficient to support them if they remove; and others, even though they could remove and have subsistence sufficient, yet will not venture. These we have nothing to say to, neither is there room to say anything of them; what is said above relates only to such as being desirous to remove are not permitted, no,

not although they are really sound and free from infection.

Yet there are effectual measures for London and other great cities. For example: *First.* — That upon the approach of the infection, proclamation should be made that all people that intend to remove themselves and families should do it within such a certain time.

Secondly. — All reasonable encouragement should be given to the poorer sort of people who had any friends or relations to receive them, to remove with their families, even to the giving them reasonable allowances for their travelling; that as many poor families as possible may quit the city and separate, which would be their safety, and contribute much to the safety of the whole city also.

Thirdly. — That all such persons as have no legal settlement in the parishes within the city and liberties, &c., should be forthwith passed away by authority and sent home to the parishes from whence they came; no beggars, vagabonds, or loose people to be suffered in the streets.

Fourthly. — All the parish pensioners, alms poor, and poor chargeable upon the parish, as also all the hospital poor, should be immediately removed at the expense of the parishes respectively, to such places as each parish could secure for them, at least twenty miles from London, and to be maintained there at the charge of the public parishes to which they belong.

Fifthly. — All occasion of bringing people to London by the necessity of business should be as much

as possible prevented; to which purpose the terms must be adjourned; the Inns of Court shut up; no man should be arrested for debt, so as to be put in prison above a certain time, but that if he could not give bail, or some pledge for his appearance, such debtors should be removed to such public places as the officers of the city should be obliged to prepare, at the distance of fifteen miles at least.

Sixthly. — That all the prisoners for debt should be immediately removed to the same places as above.

Seventhly. — That all criminals, felons, and murderers should be forthwith tried, and such as are not sentenced to die, should be immediately transported or let out on condition of going forty miles from the city, not to return on pain of death.

Eighthly. — That all the children of Christ's Hospital, called the Blue Coat boys and girls, be immediately removed by the government of the said hospital to Hertford and Ware, where they have houses for their reception.

Ninthly. — That all workhouse children, charity children, and all the children of the poor, as are not in condition to maintain them, should be removed into the country, at least thirty miles from the city, and be maintained there by the public.

Tenthly. — That all the masters of families who purpose to abide the extremity be exhorted to send all their children that are under fourteen years of age into the country, and if any of them are destitute of places and friends to send them to, on paying a reasonable sum to the common treasure of the city, care should be taken to provide accommodation for

them in the country at the public expense, where they should be well provided for, for a year.

Eleventhly. — That the governors of the Blue Coat Hospital should undertake, on the payment to them of a reasonable sum of money by the city, to provide maintenance for all such children as the city should recommend them, and to be kept in the terms of the hospital, that is to say, as they now keep their other children, not exceeding the number of twenty thousand.

Twelfthly. — That the governors of the workhouses do the like in proportion, so that, in short, all the children in the city and the suburbs should be sent away.

These evacuations of people would greatly lessen the number of the poor in London, and consequently take away the fuel which the fire of the pestilence generally feeds upon.

Thirteenthly. — That after the time first limited for all people that please to remove, if any person after that should desire to remove, he should not be hindered otherwise than on the following conditions: —

1. On bringing good testimony of his body being sound and not infected. This testimony to be given by some able physician or surgeon or other person, after their having searched the person three days successively.

2. On the persons performing a vingtaine, that is to say, a restraint of twenty days, in such barracks or houses as shall be appointed by the magistrates of the city, at some place at least five miles from the suburbs; after which, and no sickness appearing upon him, he shall have testimonials of health, and may go whither he pleases.

All these measures being taken at the beginning of the infection, or at the first approach of it, we might reasonably hope, God's infinite mercy concurring, that the city would be in a posture to bear the visitation much better than ever it was before; for though there would be still many thousands of the inhabitants left, yet they would live at large, be unencumbered with poor, and with children, and with all the stench and filth that attend those who want conveniences, and who would in such a calamity only serve to infect one another, and strengthen the contagion in general.

It might be reasonable to suppose that upon this dispersing of the poor people, and sending away the children of all sorts, two-thirds of the inhabitants of London would be absent, including all the families of the better inhabitants, who would voluntarily remove and take country lodgings; of this latter part we might make some guess by what was the case in the last plague in 1665. The removing of the inhabitants was at that time very great, if we may believe the report of those that were then living; I say, it was then very great, for first the whole Court removed to Oxford; there was neither Parliament or term held in London; so that all the nobility and the gentry and lawyers vanished, as it were, at once, and there was scarce a living creature to be seen about the Court. Whitehall was uninhabited, the Park shut up, the passages everywhere stopped; nothing was to be seen at the great houses of the nobility in Westminster and parts adjacent but a servant or two to look after the house, or perhaps nobody within, only a watchman or

two at the gate night and day to prevent robbing the house; and as the plague began in St. Giles's parish, the people at that end of the town fled first, so that the streets looked desolate, the grass grew at the doors and upon the steps of the houses, and the streets were in several places barricaded at both ends, the inhabitants being entirely removed and gone. In the city, that is to say, within the walls, as I have been told, about seven thousand houses were quite empty and the doors locked up, and in most of the rest the families were thin, half or more of them gone; and this was without doubt the reason why the number that died in the city was much smaller in proportion than in any other part, there dying more by 4551 in the two parishes of Stepney and Whitechapel than the whole ninety-seven parishes within the walls.

This was doubtless owing to the fewness of the inhabitants within the walls, where the people, being generally wealthy, provided for themselves and their families by an early flight into the country; whereas in the outparts the people lived thicker and closer together, and being poor and wanting conveniences, and not able to flee for want of friends or money, or both, died in heaps, and strengthened the contagion by their numbers.

It is a consideration well worth the concern of the public, how many ways a useful and valuable charity it would be to have the children of the poorer and middling sort of people removed at such a time as that into places of health and air, and to have them taken care of for one year. I cannot think but well-inclined Christians, were it proposed to them, would

contribute largely to such a proposal, and what charity and alms would not effect, public stocks should supply. I cannot doubt but a Parliament would consider such a thing, and establish some fund payable by the city, either by a tax on coals, a toll on cattle and corn consumed in the city, or some such thing, upon the security of which money would be easily raised to answer the expense.

By this means the lives of an hundred thousand poor innocent creatures, who, as God was pleased to say of Nineveh, know not their right hand from their left, would be saved, and these children would be preserved for the good of posterity; most of whom would otherwise inevitably perish, some by want, some by neglect, some by the loss of their parents, and the rest by the distemper.

But by this means not a child would be left in the whole city of London, and in all its vast extended suburbs; whereas the distress of poor families in the time of the last plague, by reason of the great numbers of children that lay starving upon their hands, was inexpressible, and the numbers of them that perished in the streets and in empty houses, and in other places full of misery, added exceedingly to the height of the bills of mortality.

When I say an hundred thousand, I do not suggest that there are but an hundred thousand children of fourteen years old and under; I believe there would be found near three times the number within the extent of the bills of mortality; but I suppose one hundred thousand of these to be merely the children of misery and distress, such as must be wholly pro-

vided for by charity, and that the rest should be either disposed of by their parents or by the city, that is, by the public, the parents paying a competent sum towards their maintenance, as their ability should appear.

Be it which way it will, I insist upon it that there should not a child be left in the city under fourteen years of age. I could give many reasons why such a step as this would be so necessary for the preserving the health of the city, but I think it will not be disputed.

Having thus cleared all the city of all the poor, and of all the children, and of all the whole family of those who can and will voluntarily flee, I think it will not be needful to say that all other living creatures should be sent away or destroyed, such as dogs, cats, monkeys, parrots, and any creatures that eat flesh, all should be destroyed, whether it be beast or bird, and especially all the weasels, rats and mice, if possible; the first of these, as to dogs and cats, was done in the last visitation, anno 1665, but not the latter.

Also, in my opinion, that there should not be a swine, hog, or sow left alive among the streets or near them, no, nor a horse; not that the horse himself, abstractedly considered, could be dangerous; but as the stables they are kept in, their dung, and the stale or water that comes from them occasion an ill scent, it should be prevented by removing the horses also of all sorts.

Much is said, and great stress is laid by our physicians, upon the article of cleanliness, and removing everything that is nasty and filthy out of the streets,

and in consequence of this we find the Grand Juries of London and Middlesex presenting the need there is to put the laws in execution for paving and cleaning the streets, that no noisome, offensive stench may rise from the dirtiness and heaps that are usually found there, especially in the outparts.

I cannot say but there may be something in this; but they that go thus far would do well to go farther and consider those most loathsome by-places, called tide-ditches, which are kept open on the other side of the water, both above bridge and below. They begin from that inlet of water at the Falcon's sluice, spreading every way towards the fields called St. George's Fields, and running through Bandy-Legged Walk, and on the back of the Old Bear Garden up to the Mint. These filthy places receive all the sinks, necessary-houses, and drains from dye-houses, wash-houses, fellmongers, slaughter-houses, and all kinds of offensive trades. They are continually full of carrion, and the most odious of all offensive stench proceeds from them; also the other part of the said ditches westward as far as Lambeth, many of which lie a great depth in mud, and from whence such filthy unsufferable smells are sensibly perceived, as make people loth to pass by them.

The like of these are to be seen below bridge, from Battle Bridge to Horsley Down, and all along the back of Rotherhithe, at least on the hither part of it, and are justly the terror even of the inhabitants themselves.

I could say much on these heads were it needful, and must add that I wonder much that, while the

Grand Jury has presented this affair of cleaning and paving the streets, they should omit such notorious fountains of stench, enough to corrupt the very air, and to make people sick and faint as they pass by.

Next to these the hog-keepers' yards at Whitechapel, where swine, which are fed with carrion and the offal of dead beasts, are kept, whose smell is so unsufferably nauseous that people are not able to go that way.

These things would be well worth presenting to the Court of Justice and a Lord Mayor; and I must say that if stinks and nastiness will infect a town, it is owing to nothing but the wonders of God's goodness that this place (Southwark side especially) should be at any time free from infection.

I might here put the inhabitants of this city in mind, and especially the people of Southwark, that in the last great plague the infection held longer in Southwark, in proportion to the place, than in any part of the city or suburbs, and there died more by abundance in that part in proportion to the numbers of people; and this they would do well to consider of upon the occasion now before us; and of the parishes in Southwark, St. Olave's and St. Saviour's which are the particular parishes where the worst of those abominable tide-ditches are buried, more in proportion to their extent than any other of the parishes on that side of the water.

For Example.

From the 19th to the 26th of September the burials stood thus: —

St. Saviour's, Southwark	341
St. Olave's, Southwark	324
St. Martin's-in-the-Fields was but	171
St. Giles's-in-the-Fields	107
St. Giles's, Cripplegate	225

From the 26th of September to the 3rd of October: —

St. Saviour's, Southwark	352
St. Olave's, Southwark	278
St. Martin's-in-the-Fields	143
St. Giles's, Cripplegate	196
St. Giles's-in-the-Fields	78

From the 10th to the 17th of October: —

St. Saviour's, Southwark	227
St. Olave's, Southwark	212
St. Martin's-in-the-Fields	60
St. Giles's-in-the-Fields	88
St. Giles's, Cripplegate	43

From the 17th to the 24th of October: —

St. Saviour's, Southwark	101
St. Olave's, Southwark	102
St. Martin's-in-the-Fields	38
St. Giles's-in-the-Fields	38
St. Giles's, Cripplegate	28

In like manner the parishes of Stepney and Whitechapel and Aldgate, where those slaughter-houses and hog-houses are kept, retained the infection longer than any other of the parishes in or about the city of London; much of which (if the skilful physicians may be credited) was owing to those vile places above said.

Another observation of this kind may be made, which will have the like experience to support it,

and this is, that it may be observed, that those places of the city itself, as well as of the outparts which lie on the shore or the banks of the river, buried more people in proportion to the extent of their parishes than any other; which may very well be placed to the account of the gullies and common shores, the hog-houses and kennels of the city, which bring all the wash and filth of the streets into the river, under the very noses of the inhabitants; and though it may be true, that the tides do twice a day come up and cover the mouths of the said shores and gullies and carry away the filth, &c., yet when the tide ebbs away it is to be seen what quantities of carrion and nastiness are left above ground, and how nauseous such things are to the inhabitants.

Whether this was the occasion or not, that those parishes butting on the Thames side were more sickly than the rest, I leave to the judgment of all indifferent persons; and especially to those who affirm that these unwholesome smells and unclean, filthy places are a cause and an increase of the infection.

The case is this. In the city, in the parishes following, the burials stood thus for the year 1665:—

St. All-hallows, Barking	514
St. All-hallows the Great	455
St. Andrew by the Wardrobe	476
St. Anne in Blackfriars	652
St. Michael at Queenhith	203
St. Michael, Bassishaw	253

Two of these are only counted large parishes, that is to say, St. All-hallows, Barking, St. Anne, Blackfriars; but all of them buried more in proportion

than other parishes of the like magnitude by a great many.

Likewise of the parishes without the walls, as particularly St. Margaret's, Westminster, buried more of the plague than St. Martin's-in-the-Fields by almost a thousand, although the parish of St. Margaret's is not supposed to be half so big as that of St. Martin's.

St. Martin's-in-the-Fields	2183
St. Margaret's, Westminster	3742

The like might be said of other places, but the proportions are not so well known, so I dwell no longer upon that part. I have mentioned these things to show how the opinion of the physicians concerning nastiness and nauseous smells, that they are injurious and dangerous, that they propagate infection, and are a means to increase the plague, is just, and that measures ought to be taken to prevent these things, by keeping the streets clean, well paved, and swept, as the Grand Juries have presented. Adding withal, that the tide-ditches in Southwark, at the Falcon, Lambeth, Rotherhithe, Horsley Down, &c., should be cleansed and kept full of water by proper sluices, to be emptied and let go every spring tide, or else filled up, and not suffered any more. Also that the gullies and common shores running into the Thames on the city side, such as one at St. Catherine's, one at Iron Gate, one near the Custom House, one at Billingsgate, another at Dowgate, and several others, ought to be sunk deeper, arched over, and carried down to low-water mark.

But I leave this, as also the managing of Fleet Ditch, and the upper part of it, especially between Holborn Bridge and Hockley-in-the-Hole, a nauseous and abominable sink of public nastiness, — I say, I leave these things to the consideration of the magistrates, who, if they have any regard to the health of the inhabitants, will certainly think that part worth their while to take notice of.

I go on, second, in my own method to such precautions or preparations as are private and personal, and which, I observe, are not much thought of by many people, though I believe the most necessary of all the rest. It is true that the nauseous places which I have mentioned are of dangerous consequence in their kind. But I must say that people ought to turn their thoughts to cleansing a worse jakes than that of the tide-ditches in Southwark or Fleet Ditch, &c., and that is, that the people, especially such as are to stay here at all adventures, should universally cleanse themselves, cleanse their bodies of all scorbutic distempers, ill habits, and especially bad digestures, gross distempers, and the like. It is the doctor's business to tell every man, according to his particular constitution, and according to the temperature of his body and blood, what is fit for him to do. I only here argue the necessity of the thing in general, and touch some general methods, &c.

I know Dr. Mead is not a great friend to evacuations in general, and he says indeed, that he would not have men bring themselves too low, and make too large evacuations, for that it is best to keep the spirit

in some vigour; and that is good advice where men are in a state of perfect health as 't is called, because Nature ought to be cherished and kept in heart, that she may be able to encounter the great enemy that threatens to invade her. But the doctor, with submission to his skill, mistakes the case. At the time of the infection I would not by any means have people bring themselves down to sink their spirits by too large evacuations. But taking the case early and by way of preparation, that is to say, six months or more before the infection comes, then it is quite another thing, then there is time to recover the spirits and restore the blood before the time of the distress comes upon them. Then is the time to cleanse the jakes, as I call it — I mean the stomach — and to purge off the foul, corrupted humours collected by long intemperance, luxurious eating, gorging the stomach with sauces and high diet, inflaming the blood with innumerable debauches of wine and the like; I say, now is the time for cleansing the stomach and bowels, and for preparing the body, by delivering Nature from all the burthens she was loaded with before.

Besides, where an ill state of health is the case, though it be not so long before the time, the thing differs extremely, and the man is under a different necessity, for he is concerned to deliver himself from the enemy he has already within him, lest that enemy should confederate with the enemy without, and so the man should be plunged before he is aware.

That the state of our body at the time of the infection renders it more or less susceptible of the infection

itself, no man of common-sense will dispute. There is sympathy of parts between the body and the distemper; while the body is clogged, the blood corrupt, the stomach foul, doubtless to receive infected poisonous vapors into the body at that time must put the whole mass of blood into new ferments. We receive poison one of another, and we emit poison one to another; and thus the plague is propagated, though we know not the *modus* in every particular person, for I will not doubt that the infection or distemper is contagious.

If we would be freed from receiving infection, we should certainly assure ourselves that we have no infection already lodged in us; and this must be tried in an effectual manner. The glands of the stomach should be cleansed by frequent emetics, but gentle; the venom of ancient distempers should be purged out of the blood, and therefore gentle salivations would be excellent preparations where they can be allowed of; and let no man object the scandal of that medicine, it is certainly administered in modern practice with great success, in cases not all venereal, and consequently not scandalous. The blood as well as the body must be cleansed, and nothing can so effectually give, as it were, a new and infant blood as this of salivation. And I durst mortgage all my skill in physic, if any one person who being in an ordinary state of health, so as not to be sick of any capital distemper, having taken this a few days, and in but a moderate degree — I say, if any one of these should be afflicted by the plague.

But pray take this with you as you go, that the

evacuations or other remedies which I am now speaking of, are not supposed to be so much as thought of after the infection is come, nay, not only after it is come into the body and has touched the spirits, but, I say, not after it is come into the place, for then, when the enemy is at the door, all the forces of Nature are to be mustered together; but all the reinforcements and encouragements that are proper to strengthen Nature for her defence, should be brought to her aid. No garrison ought to have their fortifications to build when the siege against them is laid; all the parts should be done and finished before, and when the siege is laid and the enemy are battering their works, the business then is to counter-batter him, harass him with continual sallies, and be vigilant, ready on all his assaults to repel his forces.

The simile or allusion, I hope, is not improper. Due evacuations as above, and after that temperate and wholesome diet, are the fortifications of Nature, and ought to be the practice of time as long beforehand as possible; but when the enemy is come, then reasonable encouragement ought to be given to the animal spirits, which are the garrison which are to defend the fortress of life; the man must, as it is called, be kept in heart and well supported, that he may not be sunk with apprehensions before it comes, or be surprised with the attack when it comes.

There is another sort of encouragement to prevent these fears and surprises, which I would advise every Christian to prepare and to furnish himself with, and that is the fortifications of the mind. But of that I shall speak by itself.

What I say now is, to explain my opinion about purging and cleansing the body by due evacuations, namely, that I particularly limit this to the time we have to prepare against the plague, and that these purgings and cleansings should be done now immediately; that Nature, being delivered in time from all foulness of the stomach, or burthens on the constitution, may be strengthened again, and restored in time, by proper assistance, for the combat with her great enemy.

All sinks and receptacles of filthiness, say the doctors, must be cleansed for the preserving our health by sweetening the air we breathe in; but what a sink and receptacle of filth is the body of man? How is he to be restored but by cleansing and purging off the noxious slime and corroded juices which are dispersed in all the vessels of the body, even those vessels which common cathartics will not reach?

It is upon this account that I propose to as many as have courage for such a medicine the use of a gentle salivation.

The mercury is represented to be a strainer to the blood, which takes all the phlegmatic and corrupted parts away from it, giving a change to the whole mass of blood, and consequently giving a new constitution to the body; the man lays, or has laid in him, new principles of life, and these are not by far so subject to infection as other bodies are.

They who do not think fit to do this must run more risk than other people, and how can such promise themselves safety when an infection comes? Who can think himself safe in a magazine of powder

with a candle in his hand? If men will meet an infection with gross and foul bodies, corrupted with the nauseous fumes of ill-digested meats, with a blood inflamed with excess and intemperance, whether of one sort or another, and will not apply themselves to such remedies for recovering the rectitude of their constitutions as reason and physic direct, such men may as well follow the practice of the Turks, who, upon principles of predestination, visit their friends when the plague is upon them, go promiscuously and unconcerned one among another upon their ordinary occasions, without so much as inquiring whether the plague be among them or not, or declining them when they know it is.

But if we believe the plague is received by contagion, and that means may be made use of to prevent it, we ought to use those means which are proper, and use them in the time that is proper too; otherwise we may as well omit the means wholly, and leave all to Nature and Providence.

I might enter here upon an easy proof, that our ordinary way of living in England requires the evacuations more than is the case of the people of other nations, and that if the infection should come among us, which I pray God to prevent, it will find much more fuel to feed on than it does in other countries where people live more temperately, and where they feed cleaner than we do here.

We saw plainly the difference in this matter in the late great plague in Sweden and Denmark, where the malignity of the distemper was far less than in England in 1665; and even in the plague in 1665

we found our people in the south parts, where we live more plentifully and feed more grossly, were much more violently infected than in Scotland or in the north of England, even in proportion to the numbers.

Next, therefore, to medicines for the carrying off the fund of distemper which is to be found in us, and which we owe to the irregular diet and intemperance of our people, I must recommend to all people to alter their manner of life, to eat, but especially to drink, more moderately, and, in a word, to live temperately and sparing; to eat less flesh, less sauce, and less of the half-digested juices and gravy of their meats, which a most pernicious custom has inured them to, by which they are brought to eat their meat half roasted and half boiled.

It is a most unaccountable habit that we are brought to by our vitiated appetites in this nation, namely, to eat our flesh meat, of which also we feed immoderately, almost raw; indeed, some people may be said to feed little different from the Tartars, who eat their horse-flesh raw. If we were but to be seen by the people of any other country how we eat, especially our wild fowl, the flesh scarce warm through, and all the undigested impurities of the entrails and inside of them serving for our sauce, — I say, when strangers see us feeding thus, they must be allowed to take us, as they do, to be, if not cannibals, yet a sort of people that have a canine appetite; and it was the modestest thing I could expect of them, when in foreign countries I have heard them describe our way of feeding in England, and tell us that we devour

our meat, but do not eat it, viz., devour it as the beasts of prey do their meat with the blood running between their teeth.

Let no man flatter himself in his feeding in this gross manner; the body so fed is prepared not against, but for, a contagion, and we have much reason to fear that if we should now be visited, such a visitation will find us half prepared for it to work upon, and consequently we shall receive the distemper with more danger.

Some people tell us of the plague being propagated by insects, and these carried from place to place in the air in an unaccountable manner, which if it were true, one place would be apparently infected as well as any other, and at the same time, as blights in our orchards frequently run over the whole kingdom. I leave those philosophers to be confuted by the physicians, who have much better and more rational accounts to give of the beginning, propagating, and spreading the infection. But that foul bodies and gross feeding make us more receptible of infection than we should otherwise be, this seems to be a truth that both sides must grant.

Temperate diet, and avoiding excesses in strong drink, which so many ways debauch not the head only but even the whole constitution, should be avoided as carefully before the plague; I say, as carefully as we should avoid conversing with an infected body in the time of the plague.

If I can give any credit to the assurances of those who lived in London in the time of the last great plague, few of those people we call drunken sots

escaped the distemper. It is an odd way of observing on such things, and therefore I desire to explain myself. By the words drunken sot, I mean a sort of people who have by a habit of drinking to excess brought themselves to sottism, that have debilitated themselves, their bodies as well as their understandings, and are come to dozing over their drink; who make their drink their food, eat little, and sip to keep their spirits up. I need not describe what I mean by a sot; but, according to my friends' relation, these men all went off; some that drank hard, but had strong constitutions and that were not conquered by their drink, though they were often drunk, outlived it, and had not the distemper; but the others were generally carried off.

What I infer from this is, that intemperance in drinking, as it is destructive to the constitution, so it is a most dreadful induction to the plague. When the spirits are attacked by the venom of the infection, they, being already exhausted, are in no condition to defend the body, and so the man dies, of course.

We make a great stir, as I have said, about avoiding smells in time of infection, and one [1] tells us, weakly enough, that the city of London was so close built in the time of the plague in 1665, that the air had not a free course sufficient to purify the streets, also that the streets were not paved, &c., which, 't is insinuated, added to the ill smells which propagated the distemper; both which as they are but trifling in themselves, so they are really false in fact; for the

[1] Bradley, in his book called "The Plague of Marseilles Considered."

streets of London were paved then as well as now, and the streets that were then may be judged by the breadth and buildings of those streets which remain still, where the fire did not come, and which, though they were not quite so open and wide as the new buildings are, yet are they far from being so close as to affect the health of the city. Besides, the weakness of his inference is evident another way, viz., it is apparent that the greatest rage of the infection at the time was in the outparts, where the buildings were the same as they are now, as in the parishes of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, St. Martin-in-the-Fields, St. Andrew, Holborn, &c., on the west part of the town; and in the parishes of Cripplegate, Bishopsgate, Aldgate, Whitechapel, Stepney, &c., on the east and north, in all which parts the neighbourhood of the fields prevented all interruption of air; whereas in the close-built city, as he calls it, they were healthier than in any other part.

Dr. Mead, likewise, opposes his private opinion against the common experience of the town in the late plague, 1665, and against the advice of all the physicians that were then in practice, about keeping fires in the houses and streets at that time, which was used with very good success; and it was found by experience that those people who kept fires night and day in their houses, were much freer than others from infection, the heat of the fire rarefying the air, and dissipating, if not consuming, the infectious vapours or particles, call them which we will, with which the air on such occasions is supposed to be filled.

It was on this account that the citizens, by order of the Lord Mayor, and the Lord Mayor by advice of the College of Physicians, kept great fires night and day at the corner of the streets, at the gate of the Exchange, and in other public places; by which they believed, at least, the passing and repassing the principal streets of the city, where the greatest numbers of people came, was kept wholesome, or at least more wholesome than other places.

The great quantity of coals burnt in public and in private on that occasion may confute that foolish assertion of the author above mentioned first, viz., that at the same time sea coal was hardly in use. I think I need say no more of that ridiculous part than to quote a paragraph out of his book, every branch of which is contradicted by the knowledge and experience of thousands now living. His words are as follows, viz.: —

"London, at the time of the plague, 1665, was perhaps as much crowded with people as I suppose Marseilles to have been when the plague began. The streets of London were in the time of the pestilence very narrow, and, as I am informed, unpaved for the most part; the houses by continued jetts one storey above another, made them almost meet at the garrets, so that the air within the streets was pent up, and had not due freedom of passage to purify itself as it ought. The food of the people was then much less invigorating than in these days. Foreign drugs were but little in use, and even Canary wine was the highest cordial the people would venture upon, for brandy, some spices, and hot spirituous liquors were then not in fashion;

and at the time sea coal was hardly in use, but their firing was of wood, and for the most part chestnut, which was then the chief furniture of the woods about London, and in such quantity, that the greatest efforts were made by the proprietors to prevent the importation of Newcastle coal, which they represented as an unwholesome firing, but, I suppose, principally because it would hinder the sale of their wood; for the generality of men were, I imagine, as they are now, more for their own benefit than for the common good.

"The year 1665 was the last that we can say the plague raged in London, which might happen from the destruction of the city by fire the following year 1666, and besides the destroying the eggs, or seeds, of those poisonous animals that were then in the stagnant air, might likewise purify that air in such a manner as to make it unfit for the nourishment of others of the same kind which were swimming or driving in the circumambient air. And again, the care that was taken to enlarge the streets at their rebuilding, and the keeping them clean after they were rebuilt, might greatly contribute to preserve the town from pestilence ever since."

Nothing can be more contrary to experience and the truth of fact than this whole story together or apart. (1) To say London was supplied with wood for fuel in the year 1665, and that coal was hardly in use: whereas in very little while after we found the Parliament thought 1s. 6d. per chaldron upon coals a sufficient tax for the rebuilding St. Paul's Cathedral, and all the churches that were lost by the

fire; and I appeal to the coal-meters' book, which were then set up, for the quantity of coals then consumed in London and the parts adjacent.

Then that the woods about London were chiefly of chestnut. That they were so about 300 years before, I believe may be true; but as the oldest man alive cannot remember one wood of chestnut standing near London, or so much as a chestnut tree left among all the woods near London, it is strange this gentleman should take upon him to write that which so many people now alive can contradict.

Again, as to the wines which people then drank, this gentleman is most ridiculously mistaken; for when he gives the want of the use of brandy and hot spirituous liquors as for a proof that the plague increased upon them, their diet not being so invigorating as now; on the contrary, I insist that the food of the people was rather more invigorating than it is now. For as this gentleman chiefly mentions the wines they drank, I oppose to it, and appeal to the knowledge of the whole town, that if they had not so great a variety of wines to drink, they had no adulterated wines to poison and debauch their blood as we have.

If Canary was their highest cordial, I must tell him that they had then only the best, most generous, and most sanitive wine in the world for their cordial, and well it were if we, their self-wise posterity, had such cordials as they had; that is to say, that our Canary was only our cordials, and that our other wines were not adulterated and poisoned as they are; and especially considering that we do not drink wine

now by drams, that is to say, by small quantities, and as cordials, as they did, but by quarts and gallons, that we make our physic our food, and drink diseases upon ourselves which our ancestors at the late plague knew nothing of.

In like manner 't is a mistake to say that they had no brandy or cordials at that time; the Custom House books abundantly contradict it, and it is too recent in our memory for any man of years to forget, that the people had their aqua vitæ and other distilled waters to drink as cordials on all occasions that required cordials.

But it is true that there was not two thousand brandy-shops and twelve hundred punch-houses in London, as they say there are now; and that the spirits which are now distilled (or rather half-drawn) from malt and musty grounds, are rather adapted to poison and destroy mankind than to be cordials to their blood.

It is out of the question that the people of England lived more regular, and, if I may judge of it, fared better in those days by far, than they do now. What they ate and drank then was much more invigorating than our way of living now is; for this gentleman, though a member of the Royal Society, must not tell us that intemperance is an invigorating way of living: drinking wine as we drink wine, corrupted, adulterated, and poisoned; drinking punch by gallons made of malt spirits, stinking, as I may justly call it, of the humid, and half-drawn from the half-brewed worts. Could any man of common-sense instance the temperate living of those days as a reason why the

plague spread with more violence, and then bring up the drunken sordid swallowing down foul liquors, and gorging ourselves with poison and stench, as a reason why we should bear it off better than they?

On the contrary, I must insist that our vices, which are already a plague upon our morals, are a dreadful kind of fuel for a contagion, and miserably prepare us for a plague upon our bodies. As to the havoc they make of conscience and religion, and the ruin they are to souls, I refer that to its place.

Our forefathers had sins enough, no doubt, and for which Heaven brought judgment upon them most righteously; but our forefathers never were guilty of the luxury that we practise, neither in kind or in degree.

But besides this, the author I am speaking of should have gone a little farther back, too, for the deficiency in good liquors which he mentions, than the year, '65; for the flux of wine from France, which began to supply us, and the breach made on people's morals by excesses, were really begun some time before, namely, at the restoration of civil peace, and the people were arrived to some degrees of proficiency in debauchery by that time, though not to the violent height which they are come to since.

I bring it home to our present case thus: If the plague made such progress in those days, when people lived in a so much more temperate manner than they do now, how much more reason have we to apprehend its progress now, when the bodies of men are debauched with excesses in meats and drinks, and all kinds of intemperance? From the whole, it is highly to the

purpose to press our people to use proper remedies, to clean their bodies of all the gross exhalations and nauseous humours which fly up to the brain from a foul stomach, and from corrupted juices in the body; and to show how much reason there is to change our way of living, and begin a temperate course of diet, that Nature, after having had the assistance of medicine, may be invigorated and supported for the combat she is to enter into.

I persuade myself that what I have said here is so just, and is supported by such reason, as it will not be disputed. I cannot but think that if these things were effectually considered and put in practice, the people of this city would fare much better for it in a time of infection; and I am sure they would have particular satisfaction in the experiment.

FAMILY PREPARATIONS AGAINST THE PLAGUE

I include these preparations under the head of private, as opposed to the public preparations I spoke of in the first general; but they are a kind of public, as they are different from the preparations last mentioned, which are personal and particular.

I must for the sake of this head suppose that the plague (God forbid it) was at the door, or perhaps really begun in the nation. Next to the physicking the body, as I have said, and entering into a regular and temperate life, it comes to be considered, how families are to manage themselves, and in what man-

ner of posture people should propose to put themselves, if possible to prevent the contagion breaking in upon them.

The pestilence being, as has been said, a contagious distemper, it is one of the first principles in the argument now in hand, that every family should keep themselves from conversing with one another, that is to say, from conversing with the streets as much as possible.

When a house is infected with the plague, we shut it up; this was done in the late plague, 1665, with great severity; the design is to keep the common people from conversing with the infected families. When a house is sound and uninfected, they should shut themselves up, to keep them from conversing with the common people, who perhaps may be infected. The first is done to keep the families from giving the plague to the common people; the last should be done to keep the common people from giving the plague to the family; and the reasons are a just alternative. Nature dictates the one as well as the other; and let the inconveniences be what they will, it is certain the thing is so necessary, and the success so visible and promising, that no family can repent the design of doing it; many have repented sorely that they did not do it, or did not do it in time.

'T is no new thing to direct people to live as retired in their houses as possible in time of infection; but the case is, that people will not confine themselves, or will not put themselves in a condition to do it effectually, and I must add, that not to do it effectually, that is strictly, is not to do it at all. Nay,

not to do it strictly, is worse than not to do it at all, as I shall show presently.

I know a family at this time living in Marseilles, who having effectually locked themselves up within their own house, and never conversed with the people of the town, never had the distemper at all; and yet Marseilles, if we may believe the accounts we have seen from thence, was in a far more violent manner infected than ever the city of London was.

If we may believe the accounts from Provence, there died in Marseilles, and the villages within a league of it, above 60,000 people.

If we may believe the bills of mortality published in the city of London for the year 1665, there died of the plague in London, and the villages about it, that is to say, within the lines of communication, 68,596 in that year, and no more.

Now, all people that know the two cities of London and Marseilles, will acknowledge there is no comparison in the dimensions, or in the number of inhabitants, between the one and the other. If there died 60,000 people in Marseilles, it will be granted that there died at least two-thirds of the people; for they who reckon 90,000 people to have been in that city for the usual number of inhabitants, are, in my opinion, sure to reckon enough. Should the plague, then, of 1665 have swept away in London a proportion to what it did in Marseilles, there must have died even then above 400,000 people, which would have been a dreadful time indeed.

Again, the case in London was really moderate, compared to that of Marseilles; for though, it is

true, there were few people seen in the streets of London in the height of the infection, yet, on the other hand, the dead bodies did not lie unburied in the streets in heaps; the sick were not laid out in blankets and on couches in the streets, to expire in the open air; the poisoned bedclothes and furniture in which the infected had lived, and on which the miserable wretches had given up the ghost, were not to be seen in London lying out in the streets and at the doors, to be trampled on as the people went along; all which was the case at Marseilles; so that if the particles of infection were in the air, as some people suggest, it was next to impossible to escape it there.

Now, if the family I speak of did escape the infection in such a place as Marseilles, and in such a time, and next under God's providence by the circumspection they used with regard to conversing with others, much more might it be so in the city of London, whatever may happen, if the distemper be not so violent as to despise all precaution, and to infect people that never come abroad.

It is true, for a family in London to live perfectly retired in the time of a visitation is scarce practicable; nay, unless they are sufficiently stored with provisions of all sorts for their subsistence, with physic, clothes, and all other necessaries, it is not possible; and for want of this, as well at Marseilles as at London, many thousands of families were infected who might otherwise have been preserved.

In order to direct any particular family who have substance to enable them to shut themselves up in so

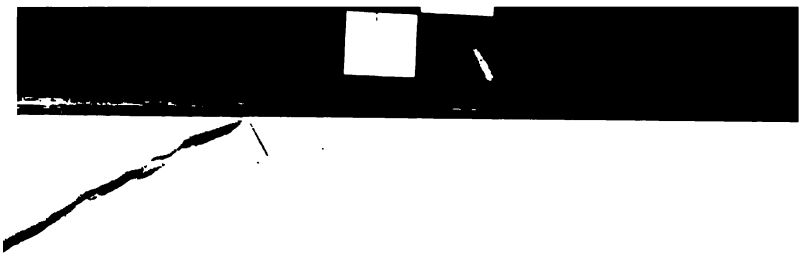
strict a manner as would be absolutely necessary for preserving them effectually from contagion to be received from any other person, or the goods or clothes of any that are infected, I shall here describe a family shut up, with the precautions they used, how they maintained an absolute retreat from the world, and how far they provided for it, it being partly historical and partly for direction; by which pattern, if any family upon the like occasion thinks fit to act, they may, I doubt not, with the concurrence of Providence, hope to be preserved.

The family I speak of lived in the parish of St. Alban's, Wood Street. They consisted of the master of the family and his wife, being either of them between forty and fifty years of age, the man about eight-and-forty, the wife about two-and-forty, and in pretty good state of health. There were five children, three daughters and two sons, two maid-servants and an apprentice; the person was a considerable dealer, and by trade a wholesale grocer. He had another apprentice near out of his time, a porter, and a boy, who he kept all employed in his business; but, seeing the desolation that was coming upon the city, he dismissed the boy, gave him sufficient to carry him to his friends in Staffordshire, and made him go away directly with the carrier. His eldest apprentice he gave the remainder of his time to, and he went away likewise by consent. As to the porter, he did not lodge in his house before, so there was no occasion of dismissing him; but, being a poor man, and likely to fall into distress for want of his employ, he obliged him to come every day,

and sit at the door from nine in the morning to six at night as a watchman, and to receive any orders, go of necessary errands, carry letters to and from the post-house, and the like; and had a wicket made in the door, to take in or give out anything they thought fit; besides which there was a rope fastened to a little pulley to draw up anything from the streets, or let anything down. By this rope they often let down victuals and cordials, and what else they thought fit, to this poor man the porter, and especially his wages constantly every week, or oftener as he wanted it.

The master having resolved thus to shut himself up and all his family, he first took measures for storing himself with all manner of provisions for his house, so that, if possible, he might not be under a necessity to send for anything out of doors, resolving to make it a standing rule that the door should not be opened on any account whatever; that the dearest friend he had in the world should not come into him, nor the greatest necessity in the world, fire excepted, oblige any one of his house to go out of the doors into the streets; nor would he suffer any of his family so much as to look out of a window into the street, or open any casement, except a wooden window made for the purpose, where the pulley and rope was, and that up two pair of stairs; and this wooden window he caused to be covered with thin plates of latin, or tin, that nothing infected or infectious should stick to it.

Whenever this wooden window was opened, he caused a flash of gunpowder to be made in the room,



so as to fill it with smoke, which, as soon as the window was opened, would gush out with some force, so that it carried away what air was at the window, not suffering any to come in from abroad, till it was purified and sufficiently singed with the sulphur that goes with the gunpowder smoke.

While this smoke lasted, he that looked out of the window talked with the porter at the gate, let down to him or drew up from him what he had occasion for; but if the smoke of the gunpowder abated, he immediately shut the door till he had made another flash with powder within.

Before the time of shutting himself and family in, and as soon as he found there would be a necessity of it, he carefully furnished himself with stores of all sorts of provisions, but did it privately, and with as little noise as he could; and his magazine was as follows: First, as he was ten in family, he allowed them to eat a pound of bread each per day; but as he laid in a quantity of meal besides, he abated one sixth part for cake bread, and such other sorts as might be made in the house; so he bought three thousand pound weight of biscuit bread such as is baked for ships going to sea, and had it put up in hogsheads, as if going to be shipped off, so that the biscuit baker knew nothing but that it was for a ship that he was fitting out. Then he caused it to be taken away in a boat, and bringing it up to Queenshithe, landed it there, and carried it by cart into his warehouse, as if it had been hogsheads of grocery.

In like manner he caused twenty barrels of fine flour to be bought and packed up, as they pack up

fine flour for Barbadoes or Jamaica. I mention this because it is known that unless flour be thus packed up and pressed with great art together in a cask, and then headed close up, so that no air can get to it, it will spoil, be musty, breed the weevil, and corrupt.

Then he caused a small oven to be built on the top of his house, that is to say, in a chimney in one of his garrets, for fear, and laid in as many faggots for the heating it as would serve to heat it three times in two weeks for a whole year.

He then bought twelve hogsheads of good middling beer, which he had caused to be brewed on purpose for keeping, being so well hopped that there was no doubt of its being sound; and having a good vault for keeping them, they were stowed by themselves; and that those might be supposed to supply him fully, he had six half hogsheads of other beer laid in for present use.

He took care for a reasonable quantity of wine, cordial waters, and brandy, not for mirth or plentiful drinking, but for necessary supplies, the physicians also having advised every one that could afford it to drink moderately, so as not to suffer their spirits to sink or be dejected, as on such melancholy occasions they might be supposed to do.

To this end he bought a half hogshead of the best Canary wine that he could get in the whole city.

Two small casks of Malmsey, quantity about twelve gallons each.

One quarter cask of Malaga sack.

One small runlet of tent or muscadine.

Two small runlets of aqua vitæ.

Twelve gallons of aniseed water.

Two runlets of eight gallons each of brandy, which was then very rare.

His wife and daughters had stored their closets well with many sorts of distilled waters, as well simple waters as others, and particularly a new cordial prepared by a prescription of the physicians at that time, and called plague water; of this, though very costly, they had prepared the quantity of two dozen bottles.

Also his wife and two eldest daughters had stored their closet with several preparations of medicines, as directed by the physicians, as mithridate, Venice treacle, diascordium, and pill. ruff., London treacle, diachylon, turpentine, &c.

Also they collected all needful sorts of herbs and roots, such as rue, mint, wormwood, carduus, angelica, garlic, scabius, white lily roots, sage, sorrel, and other useful simples, which they kept dry, to use by the prescriptions of medicine published by the College; so that they might make up these things, if need was, without the help of an apothecary or surgeon.

But to return to provisions. The master of the house, like a prudent purveyor, took care to do everything without clamour or noise, so that he might not be known to lay in a great store of provisions; the danger of such things being made public being often great, and no doubt would have been so, had the city suffered any scarcity of provisions, which, however, by the prudence of the magistrates,

was prevented; but, as that was more than he knew would happen, he laid in all his provisions with the utmost privacy.

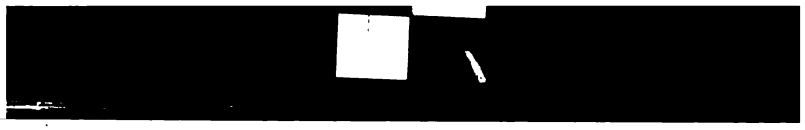
Having furnished himself with bread, with flour, and with beer, in the next place he went to a butcher in Rotherhithe, none having yet died of the plague on that side of the water, and here he caused three fat bullocks to be killed, and the flesh pickled and barrelled up, as if done for a ship going on a long voyage; likewise six barrels of pork for the same pretended occasion. These also he brought by water to Trigg Stairs, where he landed them and carted them to his warehouse as before, as if it had been grocery.

He then wrote to several correspondents he had in the country, and caused twenty flitches of bacon to be sent him, some from one place, some from another, so that they did not come to him all together, nor above two or three from any particular carrier.

He likewise had a large stock of cheeses, particularly out of Wiltshire and Warwickshire and Gloucestershire, about six hundredweight in the whole. He bought also five very large old Cheshire cheeses, so that he had a store of cheese for much more than a year.

Out of Suffolk, he had sent him twelve firkins of the best salt butter that could be had; besides that he had several pots of butter sent him by particular order from other countries where he had dealings.

He took particular care to lay in about a ton and a half of good white wine vinegar, as a thing that



was particularly useful on many occasions. He laid in a double or threefold stock of coals and wood for firing, with gunpowder and brimstone for scents above; also salt and pickles in abundance, being judged very wholesome, with some hams, neats' tongues, and hung beef for dainties; with about twenty small jars or stone bottles of good oil, rather for physical uses than for salads, for these they were sure to be without.

Thus you have, as near as I can collect, his bill of stores, and the magazine was certainly well filled.

It is true every family could not do thus; but 't is also true that if all those that could have done so had done it, and had done it in time, the contagion had not spread as it did in so many substantial families; for though it was said, which, however, I do not grant, that none of the market people were infected who carried provisions to supply the city, yet this I can undertake to say, and could prove it by many people still living, that abundance of people got the distemper by going to market to buy those provisions, that is to say, by going out into the street to fetch such necessaries as they wanted, whether at shops or in the markets; and therefore it was the most necessary precaution that could be taken by this or any other person, to lay in a fund of provisions for his whole family, so as not to be obliged to have any person go out of his house into the street, by which he was as much separated from the people of the city as if he had lived several miles off from them.

I should have mentioned that he took care to have

all other needful petty things provided, such as shoes, hose, gloves, and all sorts of linen and wearing clothes, so that nothing could be wanted that they need go out for of that kind.

As to spice and fruit, and all such things, they had sufficient in the house by the means of their trade as a grocer; and as to perfumes of many kinds, he provided a great quantity.

Candles he laid in about seventy or eighty dozen, that is to say, dozen pound, with a great many bottles of lemon juice and lime juice, those acids being very necessary on that occasion. He doubly stored the house also with vessels of all sorts, such as earthenware, glass-ware, and all such perishable things.

He caused all the rats and mice in his house to be effectually poisoned and destroyed, and all the cats and dogs to be killed, and buried deep in the ground in his yard.

He built up three great terrace cisterns, and had them kept constantly filled with water, that every room in his house might be frequently washed; and not content with water of the New River in his yard, which came in by a pipe, he caused a well to be sunk in his said yard and a pump placed there, that he might have water to dress their provisions with, which did not run open in the city air, or that could be touched with any dead carcass, or have any living body or clothes washed in it which were infected with the plague.

His last and greatest concern was for fresh meat, and this he could not contrive any way for, and therefore, excepting that he made some provisions of

live fowls, which he caused to be kept for the sake of having a few eggs in the house, and for now and then a fowl to eat, he resolved to be content without either mutton, lamb, or veal, and this was the greatest mortification they suffered as to provisions.

With these preparations he began. He forbore shutting himself quite in for several months after the plague was begun, and even till there died above 1000 a week; because that, though the infection was very terrible in the out-parishes, and especially in the west part of the town, that is to say, in Holborn, St. Giles, Fleet Street, and the Strand, yet the city was very healthy, nor was the distemper felt within the walls to any degree till the latter end of June or the beginning of July; for in the second week of July, when there died, as by the weekly bills appeared, 1268 of all distempers, yet there died but twenty-eight of the plague in all the ninety-seven parishes within the walls, and but sixteen in the whole body of buildings on the Surrey side of the water.

However, the next week after it was doubled again; and, as he foresaw the infection o'erspreading the whole city and all the outparts like a dreadful torrent, as he had always said it would do, he begun to put his resolutions more strictly in execution; for from the beginning of July he suffered none of his family to stir out without the walls of the city, nor in the city to any public place, market, exchange, church, or the like, and wrote to all his dealers and correspondents in the country not to write for any more goods, for that he could not send anything out

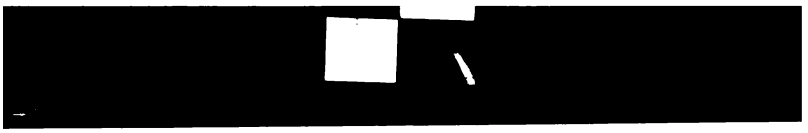
into the streets to the carriers or receive anything in from them.

The 1st of July he began to place his porter without the door, where he built him a little hutch to sit in, and where he (the porter) received all messages and errands, and delivered them as he got admittance at a wicket in the door, and gave such answers again when called for as he was directed. By the 14th of July the plague was increased in a dreadful manner in the outparts, so that the bills amounted that week to 1762 of all distempers, 1500 of which might be supposed to die of the plague, and the number still increasing, their own parish being the second that was infected in the city. I say, on the 14th of July he shut the wicket of his door up, and bolted, barred, and locked himself in with all his house, taking the keys into his own keeping, declaring to all his family that if any one of them, though it was his eldest son and daughter, should offer to stir out without the door, though it was but a yard off, they should not come in again upon any terms whatever.

At the same time he nailed up all the casements of his windows, or fastened the wooden shutters on the inside.

N.B. — They had no sash windows in those days, nor for many years after.

This he did because it had been the opinion of some physicians that there were at least many unwholesome steams and infectious smells in the air, especially in those close streets and among the houses where the plague was already spread; and it was



more than ordinarily observed by curious people that in the houses which were infected, and had been shut up, and where several persons, or perhaps the whole family, had died, there was a strange clammy or dewy sweat on the inside of the glass of the window, like the sweat that will be on the windows in a damp morning; [and] that this did not melt off with the heat of the sun as in other cases, but rather consisted the stronger. That this was the poisonous air breathed out of the infected people's bodies who had died of the plague was not doubted; but whether this was infectious in its nature, and would, if the windows had been opened, have infected the next houses, or the next people that had sucked it in with their breath, this, I say, was not determined, neither do I determine it, though to me it seems reasonable that it should do so. However, this prudent householder, acting also by the direction of good physicians, closed up all his windows as above, except the wooden shutter kept open for conversing with his porter without doors, as above; he also made chimney boards to close up all those chimneys in which he did not keep constant fires, as I shall observe afterwards.

Till this time he had taken fresh meat of a country woman, a higgler, who assuring him she brought it from Waltham Abbey Market, and opened it not till she came to his door, he had some satisfaction on it; but now he forbid her also, and allowed her coming no more.

Now, therefore, he opened his magazine, and distributed bread by weight to his family. It was long

ere his children could be brought to eat the coarse and hard sea-biscuit bread, and he was fain to distribute to them more meal and fine flour than he purposed at first, and they made themselves cakes and small loaves of bread as they could; but in a little time they were used to the other, and they found ways to soak and soften them by such mixtures as they could get.

Being now entirely shut up, they scarce knew how it fared with their neighbours, except that they heard the knells continually sounding; and their porter gave them in weekly bills of mortality, where they might see what dreadful havoc the infection made in the town round about them.

After they had been shut up about three weeks, their porter gave them an account that the next house to them but two was infected; that three houses on the other side of the way were shut up, and that two servants, out of another house on the same side of the way but on the other side of their house, were sent away to the pest house beyond Old Street.

It was observable that it went hardest with the poor servants of such families, because of their being often obliged to go out on errands to fetch things which the family wanted to which they belonged; as particularly to the markets and to the apothecaries' and chandlers' shops, which latter were at that time the principal market for all necessaries, except in flesh meat, fish, &c.

It was a great satisfaction to them that the people in the next house to them on one side were all gone

away into the country at the beginning of the visitation, and had left the house all locked up, all the windows barred on the inside, and boarded up on the outside, and had left the charge of the house with the constable and watch.

The next houses to them on the other side were all inhabited and visited, and at length all shut up, and in one or more of them the whole families perished.

By this time they heard a bell go ringing nightly along the streets, but they knew not what it meant, it not being like the sound of the ordinary bellman; and though they heard a voice with the bell, yet as it did not go at first by their door, so they could not distinguish what it was they said; and as their porter did not sit at their door in the night as he did in the day, they could not inquire; but at length their porter informed them that the number of people that died was so great in the outparts that it was impossible to bury them in form, or to provide coffins for them, nobody daring to come into the infected houses; and that therefore the Lord Mayor and Aldermen had ordered carts to go about with a bellman to carry away the dead bodies; that this had been done in the parishes of Holborn and St. Sepulchre, Cripplegate, and other large parishes, above a fortnight, and that they began now to come into the city, and that in particular to the parish of St. Olave, Silver Street, which was very sickly, and that the carts were come thither the night before.

This was frightful enough, Silver Street being also

the next parish to St. Alban's, only on the other side of the way, and the distemper raged violently in both, so that during that fortnight, which was the middle of August, there died near fourscore in those two small parishes, and still increasing. The reason of this might be partly the joining of both the parishes to the Cripplegate side of the wall, and the parish of Cripplegate was at that time dreadfully visited, the plague being come down that way from St. Giles-in-the-Fields, where it began; and the weight of the infection during the latter end of August and the beginning of September lay chiefly on that side of the city, from whence it went on to Bishopsgate, and Shoreditch, and Whitechapel, and so to Stepney, taking the city with it, which was, as it were, carried down with the stream; for the infection came, as we may say, first into the city at Cripplegate, and so spread in a few weeks quite over it.

At this time, viz., from the beginning to the end of August, or the end of the first week in September, there died from 700 to 800, and almost 900 a week in Cripplegate parish only, and then it was that the carts were employed in that parish. It was indeed impossible to bury so many in the ordinary way, for there died 4000 people in five weeks' time in that parish, so that neither could coffins be made or graves dug for them, or even churchyards be found to lay them in; so that they were fain to obtain a grant of a piece of land from the city in Finsbury Fields adjoining to the Artillery grounds, which was given them for a burying-ground, and remains so to this day, in which they dug vast pits, and threw the

bodies into them nightly by cartloads, always covering those with earth in the morning who were thrown in overnight, and then next night throwing in more bodies and more earth, and so on till the pit was filled, so that, as it was reported by the parish officers, about 2200 people were thrown into one of those pits. But this is a digression.

All this while the family continued in health, and the cheerful parent encouraged them to hope for preservation, whatever might happen without doors; but when he had such bad news every day from without doors, and that every night he heard the dismal bell with the cart, and the voice following it in a mournful tone, "Bring out your dead, bring out your dead," it could not but make heavy impressions upon the minds of the master and mistress of the family, and they began to look upon one another with sad hearts, believing they were all but dead corpses, and that the visitation was so appointed by Heaven as that it would sweep away the whole body of the inhabitants, and that none would be left alive.

In this distress he prudently ordered all his family to lodge on the lower floor, that is to say, up one pair of stairs, and as many of them to lie single as possible, and had all the rooms above furnished with beds to lay any of the family in that should be taken sick; so that if any were taken sick they were to be immediately removed into some of those upper rooms, as to an infirmary, where they should be separated entirely from the rest of the family, and a nurse procured from abroad to tend them, and to be drawn up by the pulley to the wooden shutter, so as not to

come through the house at all or converse with any in the family.

In ordering this, he appointed that if he himself should be taken, he would go immediately into the infirmary and be attended by a nurse as above; and that none of his children should be suffered to come up the stairs, or come near him; and that if he should die, his body should be let down by the pulley also into the cart, &c., and so of the whole house. Though his wife assured him that if he was taken ill she would go up into the infirmary and be shut up with him.

We must suppose this gentleman to have more prudence than religion, and much more care of his body than of his soul, and so of the rest of his family, if he took no care all this while of his house as to their worshipping God; be pleased, therefore, to suppose, that as he was a serious, pious, good man, so he carefully maintained the worshipping of God in his house; that three times every day he called his family together in the solemnest manner to read to them, and pray to God with them, always committing them with the utmost affection and humility to the Divine protection, and casting themselves into the arms of God's infinite mercy. Twice every week they kept a solemn day, giving themselves up to God by fasting and prayer. Every night, indeed, looking on themselves as dead bodies, they lay down with dismal apprehensions, but were still comforted with finding themselves every morning preserved and in health. The careful father was up every morning the first in the house, and went to every chamber

door, servants as well as children, to ask them how they did; and when they answered, "Very well," left them with that short return, "Give God thanks." This he did, that if any had been ill they might immediately have been removed upstairs, as is mentioned above.

Hitherto he had corresponded with several of his acquaintances and customers in the country, and had received letters from them, and written letters to them constantly, but would not do any business, or send any goods to them upon any account, though very much pressed to it, because he resolved not to open his doors, whatever damages he suffered.

His letters were brought by the postman, or letter-carrier, to his porter, when he caused the porter to smoke them with brimstone and with gunpowder, then open them, and to sprinkle them with vinegar; then he had them drawn up by the pulley, then smoked again with strong perfumes, and, taking them with a pair of hair gloves, the hair outermost, he read them with a large reading-glass which read at a great distance, and, as soon as they were read, burned them in the fire; and at last, the distemper raging more and more, he forbid his friends writing to him at all.

In the height of this calamity, and when, as before, the good man was almost discouraged, he was still more straitened by the loss of his poor faithful porter. He missed him at the usual time when he was wont to lower down by the pulley a mess of broth to him, or some other thing warm for his breakfast; but calling to him he did not answer,

which made him afraid something was amiss with him. However, he heard nothing of him all that day or the next, when the third day, calling again from within the door for him, they were answered by a strange voice, who spoke in a melancholy tone that Abraham the porter was dead. "And who, then, are you?" said the master to the person that spoke. "I am his poor distressed widow, sir," says the answerer, "come to tell you that your poor servant is gone." He was greatly afflicted at the loss of so useful and so faithful a person. However, he composed himself. "Alas, poor woman," says he to her, "and what canst thou do, then?" "Oh, sir," says she, "I am provided for, I have the distemper upon me, I shall not be long after him."

He was perfectly astonished and surprised at her last words, and, as he said, it made his heart cold within him. However, as he stood surrounded by the smoke of gunpowder, and within the wooden shutter, he did not immediately retire, but said to her again, "If you are in such a condition, good woman, why did you come out?" "I came," she says, "sir, because I knew you would want poor Abraham to wait at your door, and I would let you know." "Well, but," says he, "if he is dead, I must want him; you cannot help me that are in such a condition as you speak of." "No, sir," says she, "I cannot help you, but I have brought you an honest poor man here that will serve you as honestly as poor Abraham did." "That is kindly done," said the master; "but how do I know what he is, and as he comes with you that are sick, as you say, how do

I know that he is not infected? I shall not dare to touch anything that comes from him." "Oh, sir," says she, "he is one of the safe men, for he has had the distemper and is recovered, so he is out of danger, or else I would not have brought him to you; he will be very honest."

This was an encouragement to him, and he was very glad of the new man; but would not believe the story of his being recovered till he brought the constable of the parish where he lived and another person to vouch for it. While this was doing, the poor woman, after some further questions and some money thrown down to her for relief, went away.

It was observable now that whereas they found, as is said above, that it was very melancholy at first to hear so many knells going continually, so on a sudden they now observed that there was not one knell to be heard; the reason, as his new porter told him, was that the number of those that died was so great, that they had forbid the bells ringing for anybody, and people were all fetched away by the carts, rich as well as poor. Many thousands of people would now have fled away if they could, but nobody would let them pass, and the enclosed family began to be in great terror; for the houses were desolated round about them, the numbers of people that died were scarce to be reckoned up, the bills gave an account of nearly fifteen hundred a week within the walls, notwithstanding the infinite number of people that were gone away into the country, so that it was his (the master's) opinion, that there would not one soul remain in the whole city, but that all would perish.

However, he concealed his fears as well as he was able, and continued as well his care over his family as his earnest prayers to God every day, and, as I may say, every hour for them.

In the midst of this misery, and as he began to be very well pleased and much assisted with his new porter, and particularly that he was one that having had the distemper, he concluded there was no danger of his having it again, — I say, in the midst of this he was surprised with a near affliction, for calling one morning to his new porter, nobody answered; he called several times again, and all that day and the next he heard nothing of him. But all the satisfaction he could get was from a watchman, who stood at the door of a house that was shut up, for all such houses had "Lord, have mercy," and a great cross set on the door, and a watchman placed without to prevent any one coming out or going in. The watchman, hearing the master of the house call the porter by his name, answered, and told him the poor man that used to stand at the door was sick of the plague, and he supposed was dead. The master answered, "I know he was sick that I had first, and is dead; but this was another." "Well, sir," says the watchman, "but he may be sick and dead too, I suppose, as well as the first." "No, no," says the master, "you must mistake, you mean the first." "No, sir," says the watchman; "I knew your first man Abraham was dead; but this man was called Thomas Molins, was he not?" "Yes," says the master. "Then, it is he I mean," says the watchman. "Why, that cannot be," says the mas-

ter; "he had been ill of the plague before and was recovered, and he cannot have it again." "Alas! sir," says the watchman, "'t is that, I suppose, makes you so hard to understand me. I know 't is many people's opinion that when any has had it and recover they are secure; but, I assure you, it is a mistake, for I have been twice recovered of it in the pest-house, and been well a fortnight between the whiles, and now I am abroad again; but I don't think myself safe at all by that, for I know several that have had it three or four times, and some that have recovered three or four times have notwithstanding died of it afterwards." "And is my porter Molins sick of it again?" says the master. "Yes, sir," says the watchman, "I heard he was; but I will acquaint you more particularly tomorrow."

Accordingly the next day he called to the watchman again, who told him that he had inquired, and found that poor Molins, the porter, was carried away by the dead-carts, as they called them, the night before. He was surprised exceedingly at this, and shut the wooden door immediately without speaking a word more to him; and going in, sat him down, grieved most heartily, and wept by himself a great while to think that two poor men had thus lost their lives, as it were, to preserve him.

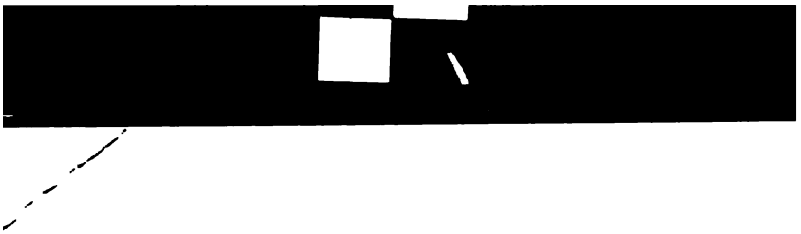
After some time he considered that there was no room for him to be discouraged, so went to his wife and took a large glass of Canary, which was his usual cordial, and putting as good a countenance on it as he could, said nothing of the death of the poor man

to his family, but resolved to remain quietly in the condition he was in; and as it pleased God that all his house continued in pretty good health, he considered that he had great reason to be comforted and thankful for that, and not to have any sorrows for others to affect his mind.

In this posture he remained about a fortnight more, having no manner of correspondence with the street, and he resolved to have no more porters; so he was perfectly without intelligence, except that still he found the watchman he had formerly talked with every day before the door of the house, as he thought, where he was at first.

But after about a fortnight he grew impatient with being so entirely without intelligence and seeing none of the weekly bills, not knowing or hearing anything but the doleful noise of the dead-cart and the bell. At the end, I say, of the fortnight he opened his wooden window, and called to the watchman, asked him how he did, and how that house did where he was placed, supposing it the same where he was before. "Alas! master," says the poor man, "the distressed family are all dead and gone except the journeyman, and he is carried to the pest-house, and I am placed at Mr. ——'s at the next door, and they have three people sick and one dead."

He asked him then, in general, how it went in the city. He told him, very bad; that the last week's bill was above eight thousand of all distempers; that it decreased at the other end of the town in St. Giles and in Holborn, the people being most of them dead or gone away; but that it increased dreadfully



towards Aldgate and Stepney, and also in Southwark, where it had been more moderate before than in any other part of the town.

In a word, this being the middle of September, the plague was now in its utmost fury and rage, only that, as above, it was abated in the west end of the town, where it began; and, as the poor man told him, it had decreased a little in Cripplegate parish, though there still died in that parish between four and five hundred a week, and in the parish of Stepney above eight hundred a week.

It was heavy news to this poor gentleman to hear to what a dreadful height the calamity was come, and yet it was some encouragement that it had begun to go off to the eastward, and that it had decreased so much in Cripplegate parish, and he failed not to let his family know it; but still as the houses on both sides of him, and almost the whole row on the side over against him, were distempered, and some whole families dead, it was very terrible to them to think how they yet lived in the midst of death. His family began now to be sorely afflicted for want of air for breath, and, with continued eating of salt meats, began to grow scorbutic and out of order. He did what he could by desiring them to stir and be active and busy about the house to preserve health, but by no means suffered any window or door to be opened; but as the weather began to be cooler than it had been, he continued to keep fires in every room on that floor where they lodged, and had two of his family, who by turns sat up half a night, and two more the other half of the night,

every night to keep the fires in, and watch the house for fear of mischief.

This scorbutic illness increased pretty much upon them, but was greatly relieved at last by his accidental reading one day of people being cured of the scurvy at our islands Antigua or Nevis, by eating green lemons, after a long becalmed voyage from Guinea. Upon this he remembered that he had a quantity of lime juice and lemon juice in the house, which he gave plentifully about to the family, as often as they would drink it, and in about a week or ten days' time they found themselves sensibly bettered by the taking it.

The streets were now a melancholy sight to look into, the pavement was overgrown with grass; it was not one time in twenty that they looked through the glass (for they never opened any casement) that they could see anybody going along, or so much as a door open; as for the shops, they were all shut close, except that the apothecaries' and chandlers' shops kept a door open for the letting people come for what they wanted; not a coach or a cart to be seen, except now and then a coach carrying a sick body to the pest-house; and every night, three or four times a night, the dead-cart, with the bellman crying, "Bring out your dead."

The poor man was now so impatient for want of his porter that he could not content himself without opening his wooden window two or three times after this to talk with the watchman, who continued posted at the door of the house that was shut up, and to inform himself how things went; but at last he looked

for him and found he was gone too, which was a great loss to him, and he was the more troubled, because he intended to have given him some money.

But one day as he was looking through the glass, he spied the man standing on the other side of the street, and looking up towards his house; upon which he ran immediately to his wooden window, and opened it, though not forgetting to make the usual smoke with gunpowder for his preservation. When he had opened the door, the poor watchman told him he was glad to see him still alive, and that he had come twice before in hopes to see him, but was afraid he had not been well; that he came to tell him that he was dismissed from the house he was set to watch, most of the poor people being dead; and that if he pleased to accept it, he would sit at his door in the daytime, as his two porters had done.

He was glad of his offer, for he had not been easy for some time with being without; so he answered him, that he was glad to see him again, that he might give him something for what he had done for him in telling him how things were; so he threw the poor man two crowns, for which he was very thankful; after which he accepted his offer, and he took his post at the door as the others had done before; but he would not let him go to the post-house at all, or to any other place, only to give him intelligence of things as he heard them among his neighbours.

He had not been at the door many days but he called to his master and told him that he was glad to give him the good news that the infection abated, and that the weekly bill was now decreased 1837 in

one week, which had of a sudden given a great deal of joy among the people; that the burials in Cripplegate parish were sunk to within 200, though in Stepney parish they were still as high as ever, being between 800 and 900.

He failed not to run to his wife and family with this good news, but was fain to moderate it too, for that his sons began to be impatient to go abroad, which, however, he was resolved not to suffer. This was about the last week in September.

The next week his new porter gave him notice that the plague continued to abate, that the bill of mortality was again decreased between 600 and 700 more, though they were yet at a frightful height, being 5725 in a week, of all diseases.

However, it was a comfortable thing to think that the violence of the distemper began to assuage; and more especially that it abated in the part of the city, for in this last bill the burials in Cripplegate parish of all distempers came to but 196, which was but very few compared to 886 a week, which had died there a few weeks before. So that the plague was as much ceased to them as it would have been to the whole city, if there had not died above 1000 or 1200 per week.

His sons would fain have had him now, like Noah, have sent out a dove, that is, to have let them have gone out of doors to have seen how things were, and how the city looked; and they urged him the more, because they began to hear a noise of people in the streets passing to and fro, and that pretty often; but he kept his guard, and would not let any one

stir out on any terms, or on any pretence whatsoever.

The next week but two, which was the third in October, there was another decrease of 1849 in one bill; and now his porter knocked at his door (they did not open either door or wicket, but spoke to him), and he told them he desired to speak to his master, to tell him some good news. The master of the family soon appeared at his usual wooden window, with one of his sons, and one of his daughters. The watchman told him that now he hoped he could assure him that the visitation was really going off; that there had died 1849 less the last week than the week before, and that the Lord Mayor had ordered the carts to cease going about, except twice a week in several parts of the city, and in others but once each night; and that there had died but eighty-eight in Cripplegate parish that week of all diseases; that indeed it continued very high in Stepney, and especially in Southwark, but that in the city it was extremely abated.

He let down to the poor man, for his good news, a pint bottle of good sack, and a small basket with provisions for him and his family. And now they turned their two days of fasting, which they had constantly kept in the family every week, into one day of fasting and one day of thanksgiving, when on the sudden, to the great surprise of the whole family, the master himself, who was the life and spring of all the rest, and of all the management, which, under God, had so evidently preserved them, — I say, the master himself was taken very sick.

It is not for me at this distance to describe the terrible consternation they were all in. Not only the whole family, but the master himself, concluded he was struck with the plague. And through apprehension lest he should be the means to give it to any of his children, he would oblige them to have him carried out to the pest-house. His wife and all the children declared against it, and protested to him, every one of them, that they would rather have the distemper with him, and leave the consequence to God's mercy.

With these importunities he was prevailed with, but ordered a bed to be made immediately in one of the upper rooms mentioned before, and went presently to bed, taking such things as were prescribed publicly by the College of Physicians, to be given at any one's being first taken with the plague, which was to provoke sweat. Upon taking these things, he fell into a violent sweat immediately, and continued so all night. Any one may suppose the family had but little sleep that night, being in the utmost concern for so careful and so kind a father, as also very anxious to know whether their father had the distemper or no.

No more can I represent lively enough the joy there was in the house, when the next day they found their father had sweated very violently, fallen into a good sleep after it, and was so much refreshed and so well as to satisfy them all that his distemper was not at all infectious, but that it rather proceeded from the great weight and pressure of his cares, which had been too heavy for his spirits, and

withal, having taken some cold, as they thought, by standing too long talking at the wooden window to his watchman.

In short, the sweating had relieved him effectually, and in two or three days he was about house again and tolerably well, though weak by sweating a little too much.

While the master of the house lay thus, the family had no joy of the decrease of the plague; for what was the decrease to them if it broke out anew in their own house? But as soon as the master recovered a little, then they began to look abroad again for intelligence. And now they could see through their windows a new countenance of things in the streets and upon the houses; that the people began to go up and down the streets very frequently; and some began to open their shops, at least to open them half-way; the hackney coaches also were heard rumbling in the streets; so that without calling to the porter they could easily perceive that the distemper was greatly decreased, and that the people that were left had more courage than before, and, in a word, that the plague was going off, at least in the city, and chiefly on that side where they lived.

Their porter or watchman confirmed it to them the next day, when the weekly bill came about, which he brought to them. The master contented himself with hearing how it was, but would not let the bill be taken in, nor would he yet abate one tittle of his strict guarding his family from conversing with the streets by any means.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE PLAGUE

It was now the last week in October, and so greatly was the plague decreased, that there was but twenty-two buried of it in all Cripplegate parish, and but twenty-eight the week before, which was almost as surprising as the great rise of it at first; though even this week the bills were high in Stepney parish and in Southwark also.

Now, though this was joyful news to this as well as to other families, yet he was as anxious about the danger of opening his doors too soon, as he was before of keeping them open at first too long. He was aware that people would be rash in their joy, and that presuming on the health of the city being re-established, they would return to their houses and bring out their goods on which others had died, and air them too soon, and so perhaps bring back the infection. And it was just as he had said, for about the middle of November the bills on a sudden increased 400 at once, and rose from 1000 to 1400, and the city was in a terrible fright upon this occasion.

But it pleased God that it went off again, and the weather coming in cool, the distemper abated again, and the bills continued decreasing till in the third week of November they were once more under 1000 a week of all distempers, whereof but 652 of the plague.

It is true that, considering the number of people who were dead, which was very near 100,000, and the great number fled away, which, according to the most moderate guess, was at least three times as many; considering the numbers who had had the distemper and were recovered, who though, as was

evident in the case of the second porter, they were not entirely free from the return of the distemper, yet they were not so very easily infected as others, — I say, considering this, the dying of 652 a week now was as much as the dying of 2000 a week was at the beginning of August; and this made him continue his caution with the same rigour as ever, and indeed with rather more; for he remembered well what a consternation the people were everywhere in when the plague was so increased as to die from 800 to 1000 a week of all distempers; and even this week I now speak of, which was from the 14th of November to the 21st, the bill stood at 905, whereof 652 of the plague.

Besides, there died in the city of the plague that very week above twice the number as died in the week from 21st to the 28th of July, when the bill was 1761 in all; for then there died but 56 in all the city within the walls, whereas now there died 127, I mean of the plague, so that the city was not so healthy then as the outparts. For example, the great parish of Cripplegate was so strangely restored, that there died in the week from the 21st to the 28th of November no more than ten persons in all, and but two of them of the plague; which perhaps was the least number that had been known in that parish before or since for above an hundred years.

All these things he calculated exactly, and, as he said, was very loth to lose all the fruit of his care and caution, and of the close confinement he had submitted to, — I say, he was very loth to lose it all at once by a rash and needless adventure. His reasons were so

good, and their own safety so much concerned in it, that his family submitted to it with the more cheerfulness, though they began to labour hard for breath at that time, and to be very desirous of air, having been shut up so close and so long, as above.

The first of December, like Noah, who opened the window of the Ark to send out his dove, he opened his street door for the first time and walked out. The bill of mortality the week before was 544 of all diseases, whereof only 333 of the plague, whereof nearly half of that number were out of Stepney parish, and the Southwark side of the river, where the sickness continued longest, and was longest before it began.

The first of December, I say, he walked out, but suffered none of his family to stir but himself; he viewed the streets, the houses and shops, but conversed with nobody, nor did he see anybody that he knew, except a few just in his own neighbourhood. A vast number of houses were standing empty and deserted, the inhabitants being gone into the country; yet in some of those he observed servants, returned, who had opened the windows and doors, and were, as we call it, airing the houses and the goods, making fires in all the rooms, opening the windows, and burning perfumes in the rooms, preparing them in that manner for the return of the families that belonged to them.

The numbers of people in the streets were greater indeed than he expected; but this seemed to be occasioned rather by the curiosity of the people which were left, which led them to go more abroad than

otherwise they would have done, for in the back streets and ways less frequented he found very few people.

He came home again in a few hours, not having visited anybody, or made any inquiries after any of his friends, or any one else, and resolved to keep up to his close quarters one week longer; nor would he buy any fresh provisions, or suffer any one to go to market, but resolved upon some new measures which he put in practice the week following. He went out early in the morning, and taking his eldest son and his apprentice with him, they walked on foot as far as Tottenham High Cross, and finding a house there of one of his acquaintance, which had not been affected at all, he took lodgings or apartments in it for his whole family, and the same day returned to London. The same week he removed them all thither, carrying his own goods and some part of his own provisions; all which he caused to be fetched by waggons belonging to the country people, and such as he had good information were sound and had not been infected at all.

Here he not only relieved his family with fresh air, which they so much wanted, but with fresh provisions also, which he had now brought to them from Waltham Market by his old higgler who had supplied the family at the beginning of the year.

He left his house at London fast locked up, except the gate in his yard, the key of which he gave to the honest watchman, and went himself, or his son, or his apprentice, two or three times a week, to see that everything was safe and in good order. And thus

he continued till the February following; for all the months of December and January the plague continued in the city, and at the latter end of December it began to increase again, which was believed to be by the people's returning faster than ordinary to their dwellings; so that the third week in December the number increased was 83, and there died of the plague still 281, the whole bill being 525.

But by the beginning of February, the family being well recovered and refreshed, and all in perfect health, and the city being filled again with people, and in pretty good state of health, he removed all back again, and came to his house, opened his doors, and carried on his business as before.

Thus, next under the protection of God's providence, a complete retirement from the street, and from conversing on any account whatever with the rest of the people, separating from them, and having, as we may say, nothing to do with them, neither to buy or sell, or speak or sit with or near them, has been approved to be capable of effectually preserving a man or a family in the time of an infection.

I will not suppose this man or his family, who were so severe in fasting and humbling themselves before God all the time they were under apprehensions of the distemper, and surrounded with daily experience of the dreadful calamity that lay upon the city, could so far forget themselves now as not to give God thanks in the most solemn manner possible for their deliverance. That part I take for granted; they could not be rational creatures any more than Christians and retain no sense of so signal preservation. I

will therefore, I say, take that for granted, and suggest that the master of the family, with the utmost seriousness and devotion, performed this part, and that he obliged all his family to do the like.

Here is now a perfect rule for any one to walk by, and to preserve themselves against the most violent infection that ever yet happened in this nation, for such I esteem that plague to be. And I judge it by this, that although we call it a plague year, and that the number of persons that died is accounted to the whole year, that is, from the 20th of December 1664 to the 20th of December 1665, yet the gross part of the number perished within the compass of less than four months, namely, from the 18th of July to the 14th of November, in which time there died 81,559 people of all distempers; whereas the whole number in the twelve months, as by the yearly bills, amounts to but 97,306. Or take it of the numbers reckoned to die of the plague, and brought in so by the bill of mortality, the whole number that died of the plague in the year from the 20th of December 1664 to the 19th of December 1665 was 68,596, whereof there died in the compass of the four months above mentioned, from the 18th of July to the 14th of November, 65,045. So that in the whole seven months of January, February, March, April, May, June, and December, and half July and half November, there died of the plague 3551, and no more.

Again, in nine weeks of these four months the violence of this contagion was indeed most dreadful, and beyond all that ever was before in this nation. For example, from the 9th of August to the 16th of

October there was buried 60,410 persons, an incredible number, if we consider that, by the judgment of all that have been seriously inquisitive in that matter, the bills of mortality neither did, nor was it possible, as circumstances were then known to be, that they should give a full account of the numbers of people that perished in that dreadful calamity. Many perished in the fields and highways, wandering in their distress and desperation from the town, desolate and not knowing whither to go; the villages adjacent also refusing to suffer them to come in, or to give them any shelter. Thousands perished in those towns adjacent to London which are not included in the bills of mortality, which were, notwithstanding, crowded with people who fled thither from London in the beginning of the infection, expecting safety there; which, however, the distemper being so violent, was little protection to them, and they rather assisted to make those towns more unhealthy than they would perhaps have otherwise been. These towns are said to have buried above 5000 people, some think many more, such as follows: —

Chelsea.	Tottenham.	Deptford.
Kensington.	Newington.	Lewisham.
Knightsbridge.	Walthamstow.	Peckham.
Hammersmith.	Low Leyton.	Camberwell.
Fulham.	Stratford.	Clapham.
Brentford.	East & West Ham.	Battersea.
Chiswick.	Barking.	Putney.
Pancras.	Ilford.	Wimbledon.
Paddington.	Wanstead.	Wandsworth.
Hampstead.	Woolwich.	Tooting.
Hornsey.	Greenwich.	Mitcham.
Edmonton.	Eltham.	Streatham.

Yet, in this dreadful visitation, a retreat has been effectual in the very city, and doubtless would still be so if managed with the same prudence at another time.

Here is the example. The pattern contains complete directions; and I cannot doubt but if the same method were taken by any family, the same security would, by the blessing of God, be obtained.

I am to observe, that whereas this gentleman laid in a magazine of stores sufficient for his family, I mean provisions for a whole year, so, as he was not shut up above seven months, he had a great quantity of biscuit, beer, cheese, beef, and other things remaining.

If his stores were short in anything 't was in fine flour and butter, but the reason was not that he had not duly proportioned everything for an equal supply, but that his wife, his children, and indeed servants and all, having not been used to the coarse hard biscuit-bread, could at first scarce bite it with their teeth, and contrived abundance of small things, puddings and pies, and cakes of several sorts, and bread such as their own little oven would bake; only that, wanting yeast, they could not supply themselves with such bread as they usually had, but were obliged to make it heavy and sad, not knowing how to leaven their bread, as some countries do. On the other hand, they mingled butter and sometimes fine oil with their flour, and made an abundance of baked things to supply the place with bread, and this was the reason of their flour not holding out so well as their bread.

However, as I may suppose, when he brought his family home again, and the markets were open and provisions came in plenty again, and might be eaten freely, he brought out what was left of his magazine, that is to say, of the eatables and liquids, and made a thank-offering of it to the poor; nor was it a small quantity in the whole, seeing he had left —

1500 lb. weight of bread.
5 hogsheads of his beer.
300 lb. weight of cheese.
5 flitches of bacon.
2 barrels and a piece of salted beef.
No pork and no butter or flour.

This account is given the more largely, because it may stand as a mark of direction, which will not merit any exception in the manner. And I can assure my reader that several families have been preserved in this late dreadful plague at Marseilles by the same method; and I have seen letters from thence full of the particulars, and acknowledging the success.

It is true that the poorer inhabitants are not able to do thus, and, therefore, this example, or this advice, does not immediately reach to them. But, as in the first part of this work, I have mentioned what care might, and indeed ought to be taken of the poor, viz., to remove their wives and children, to keep and succour them in particular, separating them from the rest, — I say, that then would the remaining inhabitants, who were able thus to retreat, do it in the manner as here described, they would necessarily employ so many of the men who should remain

as porters and watchmen at their doors, and subsist them with provisions from within, that even those poor men would not be exposed to the conversing with one another, which is the fatal part in such extremities as these.

It is nothing but the necessity of going about among one another which prompts the contagion, and extends it into every corner of the city. If the poor could live within doors, as the rich may, the poor would be as safe as the rich are, but that necessity that sends them abroad to get their bread brings them home infected.

It is not so much the poor living close and not cleanly that infects them. Their dirty clothes and uncomfortable lodgings and hard fare does not give them the plague, does not infect them. If so, they would never be without it. I will not say but that it makes their cure more difficult, and want of food and of physic makes them sink under it, when they have it; but it is their going abroad among one another that infects them, and then want of conveniences and of being assisted and looked after causes them to perish faster than others.

The whole scheme of my discourse, therefore, aims at separating the people as much as possible from one another, and on this depends their safety and health; I mean as to second causes, and the means of preserving it. As to the agency of Providence, I am no way invading it, or impeaching the wisdom of Heaven in the directing these things.

I must say I reject, though with decency, the notions of those people who take upon them to tell

us that the plague is not conveyed by contagion from the bodies infected. It seems to me to be an ill-grounded hypothesis, argued upon as the persons who espouse those notions think fit; and as the opinion is boldly advanced against the universal experience of mankind for many ages, I leave them to be confuted by the same experience.

However, to avoid cavilling, or making this work, which is written with a better design, a scene of debate, I leave them to their own notions, and those that please to believe them may venture their lives upon the faith of it, if they think fit; but I believe few will. And, in the meantime, I acknowledge, as at the beginning, that I write this upon a supposition of the common hypothesis, namely, that the distemper is what we call catching or contagious; that is to say, the sound are infected by the sick, let it be in what manner they please, whether by effluvia from their bodies, by animalcula mixed and drawn into our bodies with our breath, or by the venom of the tumours, blains, and sores, or how you please; and that conversing with those who are infected gives the infection, which is propagated in that manner from one to another. I say, I laid down this as a principle which experience and the judgment of very able physicians and men of long practice confirm to me, whose authority I must needs say I have not yet seen overthrown; and as the history I have given of a family preserved by retiring from conversation is really the history of several families rather than of one, and is a perfect model for future practice, I think that account, with several others which I could

give, within the compass of my own knowledge, or the particulars thereof I have had from the persons of credit, — I say, these are convincing proofs to me at least of what I build upon, namely, that the distemper is taken by contagion from the diseased bodies. Let those who believe otherwise act as they see fit; but let them remember that they cannot say they have wanted precaution, derived from innumerable examples of those who have been infected by their conversing with others.

I must confess, I think the publishing such a vast variety of opinions in this case as we see every day brought to light, is like publishing the cavils and opinions of divines in the great dispute about the Trinity, dangerous instead of directing to the readers; amusing the people so that (though in the most important article of religion) they know not what to conclude, or which opinion to accept.

In like manner here, in the most important article of our health we are so perplexed with the opinions of the physicians; some declaring the plague not dangerous in one way, and some that it is most dangerous in other ways; while by common experience we find it dangerous every way; and this carried up to such a degree as it is, that we know not whom to follow, or whom to give credit to.

My short judgment, and which I leave to experience, is this, that be the bodies of sick persons infectious or not, be it safe to visit and converse with them or be it not, things which we may never determine in theory, this is certain, that in declining conversation with the sick, nay, in declining all com-

munication with one another in time of infection, there can be but little error, and 't is the much safer way for all people to act; in the negative there can be no danger; the retreat then, which I recommend, must be acknowledged to be the most innocent mistake that man or family can commit.

It is a fine notion, if I had said a fine-spun notion I had been excusable, to say that we are in no danger of infection from conversing with infected bodies; but who do these gentlemen think they shall persuade to run the hazard of the experiment? Nay, will the gentlemen themselves show us the way? and if they should, we must see through the whole visitation before we can tell whether they are in the right or not.

Nay, if it should happen that any bold adventurer should thus hazard the experiment and live, even then it does not prove the thing to be true, for he may live and not be infected, and yet I may catch it at the first attempt and be lost. Perhaps this man's constitution, or precautions, or particular conduct, or his fate may prevent him being infected, but yours or mine may not. There are infinite numbers perish in a plague, that is true, and this convinces us that it is a contagion conveyed from and catched of one another; yet in the hottest and highest infection that ever was, some have escaped and never been infected at all, although they may have lived among the infected bodies all the time. I knew a sexton and bearer of a parish in London who dug all the graves, and helped to carry all the bodies that were carried in coffins to the grave, in the whole parish he

lived in, and yet never had the distemper, and the like instances of many others; but this is as far from proving that the distemper is not infecting, as it proves that musket bullets do not kill men in an army, because all that are shot at or wounded do not die.

Some ascribe it to the goodness of Providence, and to a merciful disposition for the comfort of the citizens of London at that time, that the persons necessary to tend the sick, to bury the dead, and to assist in public matters, were preserved, and very seldom had the plague, as nurses in the very chambers of the sick, and in the pest-houses, hospitals, &c., cart-drivers and bellmen that carried away the dead bodies in the night, and grave-diggers who assisted to bury them, and the like, and, as it was said, market people who brought provisions to market, and who, they say, never had the distemper.

But (1.), with due deference to oral tradition, this is a mistake. It is true, poor people pressed by their own circumstances, trade and workmanship being at a kind of full stop, were glad for bread at any hazard to undertake those dangerous and dismal offices of tending the sick and burying the dead; and in many cases the magistrates of the city obliged them to do it; but then it must be acknowledged that many did catch the distemper, and many of them died, though, as in other cases, not all of them.

(2.) After the sickness had been some time among us, as in all infections some died, so in this some had been infected and recovered; and though it is true that it did not perfectly secure them from a relapse,

or from having it a second or third time, or oftener, as it was found by experience, yet it was a general notion with the people that they could not have it twice, and that made such as had recovered be the bolder in offering themselves to those works; and perhaps, too, they were not so easily infected as others were, though they were not wholly secured. So that by the time the plague was come to its height most of the nurses and necessary people above were made up of such as had been infected and were recovered; and this particular circumstance recommended them to the families they were employed in, because they then thought they were safe from losing the nurse they had depended on, having her die in the house, or having her carried away when she was most wanted, and perhaps not any other to be had.

So that, upon the whole, those people not dying as others did is very far from being a convincing reason that the plague was not contagious, &c.; as to the market people, higglers who brought provisions to London, being so singularly preserved by Heaven in mercy to the distressed citizens, that none of them had the plague or carried it home to their families, I would be very far from lessening so great and valuable a memorial of merciful heaven, and of His care for the good of His afflicted creatures, if I were sure of the fact; but as I have never met with sufficient authority for the thing, or had it proved so as I might depend upon the truth of it, I shall say no more than this to it: that as those who relate it look upon it to be little less than miraculous, so as such I should receive it if it was proved to be true;

but if it were true, it neither way proves that the distemper was not catching.

But to come a little nearer home, if this were true, what mean the physicians and the Government in France at this time? And what are they doing there in surrounding the towns which are visited with their soldiers, keeping in the sound with the sick till they all perish together? What need of the dreadful severities they have used there, in shooting dead so many innocent people, who, made desperate by their danger, have attempted to escape either by force or secretly, and get away, if possible, out of the danger? If the poor, desperate creatures did not see that to be locked up there among the infected people was present death to them, and that they would be unavoidably infected and lost, what pushes them upon such desperate attempts for escape, in which they are almost sure to be discovered, and, if discovered, are sure to be killed without mercy? I say, what can push them upon such desperate things but the apparent knowledge of the distemper being catching from the bodies of their friends who are infected?

On the other hand, why such severities, nay, cruelties and barbarities (for if there was no reason for them they must be called such), as shooting to death two poor, innocent children who, in mere duty to their distressed father, who lay sick in the mountains, found means to pass the lines in Dauphine in the night, and go to him to carry him relief, which two poor children, one thirteen years old and one fourteen, were shot without mercy, and against the entreaties and cries of the very inhabitants where they

were taken? What need, I say, of such inexorable cruelty if necessity and the just fear of infection from the bodies of those miserable creatures did not make it justifiable?

I might instance many other acts of severity, such as shooting five soldiers who had the guard of the lines, for having pursued two sheep to kill them within the lines, lest they should get back and infect the country, so that the poor men were killed for their extraordinary diligence in their duty. There are more stories of the like nature which we have had publicly printed and written, but as I cannot depend on the truth of the particulars, I omit them. The general part, namely, that they do practise things, and do shoot and put to death all that attempt to escape if they come within their reach, is undoubted.

Now 't is certain the French, who are a nation of humanity, would never exercise such severities upon their own people — I mean they would not as a nation, and as a Government under wholesome laws — if they were not fully satisfied that the contagion of this distemper is thus conveyed from the bodies of the infected to the bodies of the sound, and that it was dangerous for the sound to converse with the sick.

This opinion of theirs 't is evident all their physicians come into, and it is allowed that the French Court is not ill-furnished with gentlemen that have made the greatest proficiency in the knowledge of medicine, and in the study of distempers, of any nation whatsoever.

Nor is it the opinion of the physicians there only, but the same notion is entertained by all the Chris-

tian world, as appears by the prohibiting commerce and even conversation with any person coming from France; which, it is plain, proceeds from the apprehensions lest those people should be already infected with the distemper, and should communicate it from their particular bodies to the people they come among.

Now, if it was true, as these men insinuate, that no contagion can be conveyed from one body to another, then all the nations in Christendom proceed at present upon wrong notions. All the people they kill in the severities I speak of are unjustly and injuriously killed, and there are just so many cold-blood murders committed by them; likewise all the measures taken to keep the people in the places infected from coming among the people that are sound and not infected, are ridiculous and to no purpose.

I shall say no more to this matter; the contrary is an amusement, and, if I may give my opinion, cannot extend very far, nor will the gentlemen that have advanced it, I believe, get many friends to it, at least not such as will venture their lives upon the credit of the opinion.

On the other hand, if I go on a mistake, I err in much good company, for I have the practice of the whole Christian world on my side. Nay, though I were to grant it was a mistake, which, however, I can by no means do, yet I am right in my proposals, in that I am laying down rules for the preservation of mankind upon the foot of that same principle which they all go upon, namely, that of the distemper being infectious, that is to say, that the infection is taken from one to another by the infected bodies emitting

poisonous particles either from the pores of the body or from the breath, or from some malignant effluvia which pass from the body infected and are received by the body at that time to be infected; when the world may, by the introducing this new opinion, change their methods universally, then, and not before, the scheme I lay down may be voted useless. I might proceed to some common remedies or preservatives which have been found useful in times of infection to those whose circumstances would not permit them to retire from company and from conversing with their neighbours. But our physicians have crowded the world with medicines, as well simple as compound, and there is no room to say anything after them. However, as I have no notion, I must confess, of venturing among infected people without any preservative, I cannot but mention some of them. I have known that some have preserved themselves in the last plague, 1665, by only having a bottle of vinegar in their hands, and being continually smelling to it. I myself have rid through a town infected with the plague with a bunch of rue in my mouth, and have been secured; others have taken rue and wormwood together. I know a physician who visited several patients, even in the pest-house near London in 1665, and went freely into their chambers, but all the while he was in the rooms would be chewing a stalk of angelica in his mouth, and every morning, before he went among them, drank the quantity of an ordinary glass of Canary with the stalk of angelica steeped in it, and he never was infected so as to be quite sick with it.

Innumerable such prescriptions were to be had, built on the experience of many who have practised them, but nothing of all this ever comes up to the grand experiment which I have recommended in this work — I mean that of separating ourselves, and retiring wholly from conversation, whether in families or otherwise, and laying in store of provisions, to shut themselves as entirely up as if "Lord, have mercy," and a cross, was set on their door.

Frequent sweatings by those that are retired, as above, cannot but be very useful to them, as well for preventing the mischiefs which frequently follow being too closely confined and want of air, as to keep the body from any mischief received, or like to be received, from the nearness of the contagion; but then those sweatings should be very moderate and gentle, and chiefly occasioned by some little stirring and exercise, such as running up and down stairs, or any brisk motion, but with a first reserve against over-tiring the spirits or heating the blood.

I object nothing against the medicines prescribed by the physicians. Every one will act in that case as their opinion of the several physicians they use prompts them; all that I have thought needful of that kind I have tied down to preparative physic, as above. What is to be done when the distemper is come, when the body is infected and the distemper has seized the blood, that is not the business or design of this undertaking, nor does it come within the compass of what we call preparations.

When the blood is once tainted, and the body infected, preparations are then at an end. Then you

must look upon the fortress as effectually besieged and formally attacked, and you must muster up all the strength of nature and art for your relief.

But this is not my part, as I have said; but having brought up the several states of health to this length, I leave it to talk of the other part — I mean preparations for the plague. What preparations I have mentioned yet are such as are needful to preserve the body from the plague. And when the person has the plague really upon him, I have no more to say but this: he must turn his thoughts another way, viz., he must make preparations for death; I see nothing else before him, nor ought he to expect anything else. And this brings me to the second part of my work.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE PLAGUE

This is the hardest part of the work by far; but of the two, infinitely of greater consequence, as the eternal state into which we are all to pass from this, is of more consequence than the present state.

Life and time are indeed of an inestimable value, but they are only so, or principally so, as on the happy conclusion of them depends the eternal welfare of the person to whom they are so valuable; and especially, the preparations for an eternal state are only to be made in time, which, once slipped away, lost and unapplied, is irrecoverably lost for ever.

The approaches of death are oftentimes imperceptible, and the attacks sudden; the distempers by

which we are carried away are violent; and it is a double terror to the dying person to have the work of dying and the work of repentance both upon his hands together. Oh, sinner! remember that the terrors of thy conscience will be a weight too heavy to be borne at the same time with the terrors of death. Nay, the terrors of conscience are those alone which give terrors of death, which make the passage out of life dreadful; and these many times make a disease mortal which would not otherwise be so. Were the diseases and casualties of which people frequently die in this populous city rightly given into the bills of mortality, many would be set down of other distempers than as we find them. Instead of hanged themselves (being distracted), and cut their own throats (being distracted), it would be said, hanged themselves (being in despair), and cut their own throats (being in dreadful trouble of mind); instead of pain in the head, it would be pain in the mind; instead of convulsions, it would be said, horror of conscience, and the like. I doubt not but these horrors I speak of throw the body into fevers and convulsions, and at least assist those distempers to destroy us. It is enough to have a violent fever drink up the moisture and life, and not to have the arrows of the Almighty drinking up the spirits; that, therefore, Christians may prepare in time for the dreadful moments which are approaching; that when the call is heard, no other noise may drown their comforts; and that the business of life may now without any delay be to prepare for death, — I say, that they may be moved to do thus, this tract is written.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE PLAGUE

The apprehensions we are under at this time of the approaching calamity which afflicts our neighbours, are a kind of summons to this preparation, and that more forcible than can be given from the mouth of man; and many thousands will have reason to be thankful for so long a warning, so timely a summons; even all those who listen to the voice of it. Let me add a mite to this treasury. The goodness of God is very conspicuous in this, that as a pestilence sweeps whole towns and cities of people away, and death rages like an overwhelming stream, that there is little or no time given for repentance or calling upon God — little time to look up or to look in — so that notice given of its approach ought to be taken for the time of interval, for both looking up and looking in, and be improved to that purpose.

Nay, so merciful is God to us, that we really have more time usually given to us in the case of a plague, I say, more time than we have in most sorts of other distempers, and that time blest with greater advantages. This is so much against the common notions we have of it, that it requires some explanation, but you will be more fully informed of it in a short discourse which happened between some relations in a family in London, just before the last great plague.

The time before that dreadful visitation was, as this is, a time of apprehension and terror; something like this, it is true, the warnings were not so long or the danger so very remote. The distemper, according to that eminent physician Dr. Hodges, was brought to Holland on board a ship, in some bales of goods from the Levant, I think from Smyrna, as

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this contagion now raging in France was said to be brought in bales of goods from Zidon and the Isle of Cyprus.

From Holland it came over hither; how it was brought over to us, or by who, that was never particularly known, or at least not publicly. The first that died of it here, at least that was put into the bills openly as dead of the plague, was in the parish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields. It was reported that the whole family died; and I have some reason to believe they did too, but there was but one entered in the weekly bill, and this was about December 1664.

This was Heaven's first alarm to the city of London, for it was remarkable that the infection began in the heart of the kingdom, as I may call it. It did not begin in a remote place, as has been the case in France, where it began at Marseilles, above 400 miles off Paris, and so came on gradually; but it first appeared in London itself, and, as I have said above, the first that was publicly given in in St. Giles's parish, about the 20th of December 1664. As this blow was near the heart, so it more nearly touched the people, and their apprehensions seemed to be in proportion more serious and affecting.

Two brothers and a sister, the children of one pious and serious mother, a widow, lived together in one house in the city; they were all grown to years of discretion, the sister (the youngest) being about nineteen, and one of the brothers near forty, the other about twenty-six years of age. The sister was a most religious and well-instructed young woman,

knowing in all religious and heavenly knowledge; the brothers men of business, engaged in it and taken much up with it. They had been religiously educated, and were what we call sober and orderly people, but being embarrassed in business and hurried in the world, getting money and growing rich, they had not made the concern of eternal life the chief business of the present life, as we all ought to do.

The two gentlemen were merchants, had lived abroad, and being returned to England, were entered into great engagements of business, and had vast concerns on their hands; were partners, and had two or three servants and book-keepers that were daily in the counting-house and doing business, as well at the waterside as at the Royal Exchange with their masters.

As the eldest of the two brothers was a widower, and had but two children, who were very small, and that the youngest brother was a bachelor, the young lady their sister was their housekeeper, and they called her familiarly their governess; and such indeed she was many ways, being not only the guide of their whole family, which was large, but a faithful monitor to themselves also as occasions presented, though not at first with all the success that she wished for; their heads and hearts, as above, being wholly taken up with business and the world.

The old lady did not live in the house with them, but having two or three younger children with her, lived a little way out of town, having also two other sons, young gentlemen of about nineteen or twenty years of age, who were abroad in Spain or Italy, and

placed in very good business by the directions and on account of their brothers.

The good mother of this family, having early impressions of the danger that was impending, began to have a heavy heart, and be deeply concerned on account of her sons; and having received early impressions, as all the town indeed had, that a heavy and grievous judgment was coming upon the city, and upon the whole nation; and as she came frequently to town to her sons, which was, as it were, her other family, she failed not on every occasion to be putting them in mind what a stroke, as she said, was coming upon the nation, and upon the city in particular; and to let them know what a dismal time it would be with all those people especially whose eternal state was not secured, and who had not the comfort of a safe passage out of life in their view.

This she urged upon her children every time she came to see them, and particularly would be representing to them how it was in London in the time of the great plague, as it was then called, which had been twenty-nine years before, "which I," says she, "very well remember, having lived here all that while, and lost several relations and acquaintances who died of the infection, at which time there died 10,400 people of the plague in the city only; and likewise in the plague eleven years before that, viz., in 1624, when there died of all distempers above 54,000 people in London and the out parishes, not reckoning in the city of Westminster, or the parishes of Stepney, Hackney, Islington, Lambeth, Rotherhithe, or Christ Church, and Newington in Surrey."

She talked so often of it that her elder son used to tell her she was a little too positive; that it looked as if she would be thought prophetic; that the plague was not actually broken out because one man had died of it; that he believed it was always in one part or another of the city a little; that the plague in 1636, which she remembered, held eight years, and that every year there died, more or less, from 300 to 3000; that there was yet no publication of it, "and I hope, madam," says he, "there will not;" and therefore that we should not be always alarming one another as if it was at the door; that the calamity was terrible enough when it came, but that to be always in a fright about it, was to make it a judgment when it was no judgment, and the like; in a word, like her sister preachers, Mary Magdalene, &c., her "words seemed to them as idle tales" (Luke xxiv. 11).

However, like a true, affectionate mother, she continued her monitory discourses to them. "You, sons," says she, "are grown up, and are above my admonition as the mother, but you cannot be out of the reach of exhortation; and my speaking to you," says she, "is with so much regard to your years, that you ought not, however, to take it amiss that I press you to prepare for the dreadful time of a visitation if it should come."

"No, madam," says the eldest son, "none of your children will take it amiss; but we think you make your company, which was always pleasant to us, be a little melancholy, for that you are always upon this frightful subject. I doubt it is too much upon

your mind, and makes you heavy-hearted when you might be cheerful." And then their discourse began.

Mother. I cannot look back, child, without horror of mind upon the dreadful time in the year 1625. I was but newly married and settled in the world, and we were full of mirth as you are now, and on a sudden the distemper broke out, and all our smiles were turned into lamentations and tears.

Son. It came suddenly, it may be, without any warning?

Mother. No, no, people had warning too; but we that were young people then, just as you are now, we would take no notice of it. We were marrying and giving in marriage to the very day that it came upon us; and when good people spoke to us of repenting and preparing to meet the Lord in His day of wrath, and humble ourselves under His mighty hand, we thought them, just as you do now, too melancholy and phlegmatic; that they did not do well to alarm the people, and put families and cities into frights and disorders. And thus we went on.

Son. Well, madam, and yet for all that it may be you thought as seriously of it when it came as they did?

Mother. Ay, son; but they that had thought seriously of it so long before us had a great advantage of us, and were so much before us in their preparations.

Son. They had so much more, indeed, to answer for if they were not better prepared.

Mother. I think, son, it should be rather said we had so much the more to answer for if we were worse prepared.

Son. But, madam, what can we do in the case as it stands now? Every one ought to prepare for death whether there be a plague in the town or no. Death comes in many other shapes than that of a pestilence.

Mother. That is true, child; and I do not speak against daily preparations for death. God forbid I should. But when an infection comes, child, Death seems to come with more terrors about him, cuts down swifter, and we have less time to think what is to follow.

Son. Some reflect upon the severity of the judgment upon that very score, in that people are swept away with a stroke, and have scarce time to look up.

Mother. No, son, let none say so, for I affirm that God's mercies are so interspersed with His judgments that we have abundant cause to acknowledge them, and ought to keep our eye upon it in this particular, namely, that God always gives more time to people to prepare for death in the case of a plague than of an ordinary distemper.

Son. How, madam? That cannot be, for in the plague people often die in twelve hours after they are taken, whereas in fevers and other distempers they generally lie as many days or more.

Mother. Ay, son, but then you do not consider that the plague generally approaches a country by slow degrees, and you have many months' warning of it before it comes; so that if it swept all away in a

day, there is no room to call it severity, for every one had warning of it beforehand.

Son. But people do not look on the judgment at particular till it touches them personally, or that is points to them in a family capacity — that is to say, till it has gotten into the house.

Mother. That folks do not take warning is their folly and fault; but that God gives them warning is their mercy, if they know how to make use of it.

Son. Everybody is willing to hope they shall escape.

Mother. But everybody ought to provide as if they were not to escape. Every soldier in the army hopes to escape being killed, but every soldier puts on his headpiece that he may fare the better if he is hit.

Son. We should prepare, no doubt; but to be apprehensive continually, as if we were sure to have the distemper, is even to fright us into it. All physicians agree that we should keep our minds easy and calm; that the passions of fear and anger prepare the heart to receive and nourish the infection, at least to dispirit and debilitate it, so that it is not duly fortified and encouraged to resist the approaching enemy which it is to struggle with.

Mother. You greatly mistake the thing, child, and mistake my meaning. I am of the same mind, and say as the doctors do, though upon other grounds: the mind should be kept calm and free, that Nature might be assisted to repulse the enemy that attacks her. But then I say that nothing can animate and encourage the mind like a firm resignation to the will of God, and a comfortable hope that it shall be

well with us beyond life. This is certainly the best preparation for the distemper.

Son. I do not deny but we should be always preparing for death, but we should not be discouraging ourselves before it comes.

Mother. What do you call discouraging yourselves? Preparation is the only way to avoid being discouraged.

Son. You talk of preparation as if I was sure it would come upon me.

Mother. As soon as we have reason to be satisfied that the distemper is begun, and is among us, I think every one, speaking of his preparation, should look upon himself as if absolutely struck, as much as if he saw the tokens upon his flesh.

Son. And is not that all phlegmatic and vapours, madam? Do not many, do ye think, in the plague, as they do in other distempers, fancy they have it till they really bring it, and so have it because they fancied they should have it?

Mother. You forgot what I said, son; I said as to our preparations.

Son. You distinguish nicely, madam, but others will take it another way. You say we should always look upon our case as if we really had the distemper; certainly that would be poring too much upon a thing so dreadful! Why, it would make some people go distracted.

Mother. I distinguish clearly, son, though not so nicely as you would have me. I say, as to our preparations, we should do thus, that is to say, we ought to prepare for death as if we had the distemper just

now upon us; and my reason is good, because, I can assure you, when the body is agitated with that distemper, there will be as little capacity as there may be time to look up to God and to prepare for death.

Son. Why, madam, you would have us think ourselves all dead men, or as if we were under a sentence of death, only reprieved, *sine die*, a little while, and to be executed at the pleasure of the judge.

Mother. Why, truly our case is no other than that in the whole ordinary course of life; but in this of the plague it is much more so, especially to such whose business and circumstances call them to continue in the city on such an occasion, as you say, son, yours does.

Son. Well, madam, you have been in London during two plagues, that in 1625 and that in 1636, and you are still alive; why may we not fare as well now if it should come?

Mother. The more I have of the mercy of God to account for, child. But I cannot say I was in the city all the while; for the last plague, I was absent in Cheshire; but the first, indeed, I saw wonderful things and terrible to relate; and this makes me say we should all look upon ourselves as dead persons or as reprieved criminals, and giving up ourselves entirely into God's hands, should stand ready expecting to answer at the first call, and say, "Come, Lord Jesus;" for, take my word, son, if it comes you 'll say 't is a time to tremble at, a time to be prepared for, not a time to prepare in.

Son. But, madam, it may please God to avert the judgment; He may be better to us than our fears.

Mother. If it should be so, no man would ever repent of his preparations if they were sincere, or say it was so much lost. But flatter not yourself, son, with its not coming; it is not coming, but come. Have you not seen it begun? There are several dead of it already, and more than you think of.

Son. There has one or two died in St. Giles's parish, but it was last December, and we are now in March, and there has been but one more, so that I hope 't is over.

Mother. That hoping 't is over is a snare of the devil; flatter not yourself with it. When the plague begins, though there be one or two that die at first, you never hear it goes off so, it always goes on though it begins slowly, and that slowness of its beginning is what I call the merciful warning given to us all of the approach of the judgment.

Son. So that when one or two die, you would have us take it that the plague is begun?

Mother. Yes, I do insist upon it, and that it always goes on. But farther, let me tell you, I know very well that when our weekly bills set down one or two to die of the plague, you may depend upon there being more, for people are always diligent to conceal their families being infected, because they would not have their shops forsaken, their houses shut up, or themselves be shunned as belonging to infected families; and, therefore, in the last plague of 1636, I remember there was so much fraud used by the parish clerks in forming the weekly bills, that it was certain there died 200 a week of the plague, when by the bills there was only ten, twelve, or fifteen, or thereabouts.

Son. So that you look on the plague as a thing already begun among us?

Mother. Indeed, child, I do! and I believe firmly that it is so at this time.

Son. And what would you have us do?

Mother. My answers, son, are short to that question, whether you mean by us, us of this family, or us of the nation. I would have us return to God, lie at His feet, take the words of the Scripture, and say, "Thou hast smitten and Thou wilt bind us up" (Hos. vi. 1). In a word, I would have every one prepare themselves for death; prepare together, and prepare apart.

Son. As much as if they were on their deathbeds?

Mother. Ay, indeed, the very same; and be thankful, humbly thankful for the time allowed for it; thankful that God had in mercy spared them an hour with reserve of health and strength to turn to Him and repent; for then, be assured, when the visitation begins, there will be no room for it, all will be filled with horror and desolation, every one mourning for himself; no composure, no compassion, no affection; no one to comfort, none to assist; nothing but death in all its most dismal shapes, and in its most frightful appearances.

Son. Why, madam, if your rule was to be observed, there would be an immediate cessation of all business, from the king upon the throne to the schoolboy or the beggar in the street; all should fall on their knees together like the people of Nineveh.

Mother. Oh that such a sight was to be seen! I am so fully persuaded that the plague that is coming,

and that I say is now begun among us, is a messenger sent from God to scourge us from our crying sins, that if the cry of this nation was as universally sent up to Heaven as was that of the citizens of Nineveh, and with the same sincerity of humiliation, I say, I firmly believe that, as was then the case, God would repent Him of His fierce anger that we perish not.

Son. But you will not see that here, madam.

Mother. No, child, I doubt not, and therefore I am not talking of national humiliations, but of family and personal humiliations and repentance, and that; not on expectation that God should withdraw the judgment from the country wherein we live, but that He should withhold His hand and the hand of His destroying angel from our houses and our families and our persons.

Son. Why, madam, you would put us all into confusion. You would fright and terrify us so that we must shut up our shops, embargo our ships, close our ports; the Custom House would have no business, the Exchange no merchants, the merchandise no market.

Mother. I say again, oh that I could see such a sight in London! It is true it would be as you described it, and indeed it ought to be.

Son. God forbid, madam. Why, we should be all frighted out of our wits.

Mother. Ay, ay, I wish I could see them so out of their wits as that comes to. I should expect that then some miracle of deliverance would follow, as was the case of Nineveh; but it is not to be expected here.

Son. No, indeed, madam, I believe not.

Mother. No, no, there is not a spirit of national humiliation among us; but I see national sins rather come up to such a height as they never were at in this nation before. The dregs of the late wars are not purged out, and will not be purged out but by fire, that is to say, by the fire of God's judgment, which is already begun among us.

Son. But they have been as bad formerly, madam.

Mother. They have been as bad formerly, in the revelling days of King ——, but never worse than now, and this even under the pretence of greater reformation; all manner of wickedness and public debauchery being let loose among us, and breaking in upon us like a flood, encouraged even by those who ought to suppress them, and by the example of those from whom we hoped to find examples of good, and at least to have profaneness and immoralities punished and discouraged by them.

Son. The world was always as wicked, I think, as it is now, madam, since I remember it.

Mother. But we hoped this late turn of things would have given a blow to the wickedness of the times, and I think it has rather made them worse.

Son. That lies upon the great men, madam, who should have reformed us, and who should have showed better examples to the people; and you see they have appointed days of humiliation for us. What can they do more?

Mother. Well, and God may visit our magistrates as well as others, but certainly this judgment will fall upon the people too; for though the other are

principal, the people are guilty, and 't is from them that God expects a general repentance, and therefore national humiliations are the duty of the people on these occasions.

Son. I see nothing in those public humiliations but formality, and making a kind of holiday of it, a day of idleness and sloth.

Mother. As to that, I hope among serious people it is otherwise, but in the general it is too true, and therefore, to enter no farther into a complaint of what we cannot mend, this, however, we can do: every one can reform for themselves, and repent for themselves; and this is what I would fain see in our family, every one mourning apart.

Son. But even this is not likely to be seen in the manner you would have it.

Mother. No, son, and therefore I am for having everybody prepare for the plague, by preparing for death as seriously and with as much application as if they were actually infected and had the distemper upon them.

Son. Preparations for death, madam? What do you call preparations for death? In the first place, if I am to prepare for death, I must make my will.

Mother. Dear child, do not make a jest of it; I am speaking with a heart full of grief upon a subject which, when it comes, will perhaps be as terrifying to you as to me.

Son. Ay, and more, too, madam. I am not jesting with it, I assure you, but I would hope it may not come; it may please God to prevent it; and

therefore I cannot think of such a solemn entering upon preparations for dying, as if it was this minute upon me, for then, as I said, I must make my will, shut up my counting-house, stop all my shipping of goods, put off my servants, and send for the minister, &c.

Mother. This I do really call jesting with it, son; but since you will speak of these things, I must tell you that every man that has any family affairs to settle, ought to do it forthwith; for a time of the plague will be a time for no making of wills and settling estates, I assure you, any more than it will be for repentance; when ministers will not be found to comfort the souls of dying penitents, it may be found still harder to find scriveners to make their wills. When husbands are abandoned of their wives, and wives of their husbands, fathers of their children, and children of their fathers and mothers; when every one flies from one another for fear of their own lives, there will be no room for settling affairs, as you call it.

Son. Dear madam, you make one's blood run chill in the veins to hear you talk so; pray let us talk of somewhat else, this is enough to make one die with the fear of it.

Mother. Oh, child, 't is much worse to die in that condition itself than with the fear of it. I could tell you such stories of the several dreadful circumstances of families and single persons, in the several times of such judgments as these, which have happened in my time, and which I have particularly heard, as would make your blood run chill in your veins indeed.

Son. Oh, madam, don't tell us such dismal stories; you should rather encourage us.

Mother. I would say anything to encourage you to go about the preparations that I speak of; but I doubt that is not the encouragement you mean.

Daughter. No, madam, that is not the encouragement my brother means.

Mother. What then, child?

Daughter. My brother thinks you should rather encourage us to hope it will not come, or that if it should, we may escape it.

Mother. What can the end of such encouragement be?

Son. Why, that we should not be always poring upon it, but might live as cheerfully as we used to do.

Daughter. My mother seems to intimate that to encourage us so can have nothing in it but to encourage us to continue unprepared for it.

Son. I hope we are all prepared for it.

Daughter. I can answer but for one; I dare not say I am prepared, unless it be to die at the very thoughts of it.

Son. Ay, why, that 's the very thing I say; my mother 's enough to fright us all to death.

Mother. Why, as my daughter said, what can I do? To encourage you, as you call it, is to encourage you to put off all preparations. Is it possible for me to do that? No, but I would encourage you to be prepared; that would be to destroy all the reason of fear.

Son. Why, you see my sister says, madam, that she is ready to die at the thoughts of it.

Daughter. Oh, but, brother, do not mistake me, 't is not at the thoughts of preparing, but at the thoughts of my not being prepared.

Mother. There is a great deal of difference in that, son.

Son. There is a difference in the cause of the fear, but that frighting of people one way or other is what I cannot think ought to be.

Mother. I cannot think that to move people to prepare themselves for the worst is to fright them; if I was to go to a condemned criminal in Newgate, would it not be my duty to exhort him to prepare for death?

Son. The very comparison is frightful; are we all condemned, then, to die?

Mother. Yes, in the very common notion of life we are all under a sentence; we are all appointed to die, and after death to judgment, only for the present under a merciful reprieve. The comparison may be frightful, but 't is really not so remote from the case; and in the present article of the plague breaking out in a city or town where we live, I think 't is much more to the purpose, and to bid us prepare, I think, is not justly to be called frighting us.

Son. It is alarming us.

Mother. Ay, but, son, it is not alarming us when we ought not to be alarmed, or frighting us without cause.

Son. Well, madam, I will not oppose your cautions. I know you mean well; but you will give us leave to hope that it may not be so bad.

Daughter. Dear brother, I do not find that my

mother insists on what will or will not be; but, as the danger at least is real, she moves us to be ready for the worst.

Son. But my mother says the plague is actually begun. I hope not.

Daughter. Well, brother, I hope not too; but I am afraid it is, and from this hour, I assure you, if God please to assist me, I will prepare for it, as if it was not only come and broken out in the city, but come upon me, and I was actually infected with it.

Son. Well, sister, and from this time forward I conclude you will have the plague; nay, you have it already, the very tokens are come out upon you.

[*His sister turns pale and faints away, frighted with his positive telling her she had the plague.*]

Mother. Oh, son, how can you do so? How can you be so cruel to your sister?

Son. Why now, madam, did I not say this was frighting people to death? You see my sister, that I believe is as well prepared as any of us, cannot bear the talking thus.

[*The sister after some little time comes to herself again.*]

Daughter. Oh, brother, how can you talk so?

Son. Why, did you not say you were not frighted at the thoughts of the distemper, but only at your not being prepared for it?

Daughter. Then because I am sensible of my not being prepared for it, I have reason to be surprised at your telling me I had the tokens come out upon me.

Son. Did not my mother tell us we ought all to be told so?

Daughter. Dear brother, I am afraid you mistake me and my mother too, though it is frightful to be told so feelingly of the plague, and be bid look upon it as actually begun; yet I cannot say but 't is very necessary we should be so frighted.

Son. Well, sister, then, I have done you no harm in frighting you.

Daughter. No, you have done me no harm; but from this time forward I shall more seriously apply myself to the great work of preparations for death.

Mother. Oh, that the whole nation were so frighted into the same resolution! God assist you, my dear, and cause you to go comfortably in such a work.

Son. You bring it to a more solemn extreme than I intended it, madam. I wish every one may prepare for it, but I cannot say I would have them frighted into their preparations. That was all I meant; and the reason is, because such public alarming the people has in it public mischiefs, it does hurt to the nation in general, injures trade, wounds the poor, sets other nations upon their guard with us as if we were already infected, sinks credit, and discourages the people.

Mother. I have nothing to do with your politics, all your reasons of state are of no weight here; it were better all those mischiefs followed, and the people were prevailed upon to begin a general sincere repentance, than all those things should be avoided, and the poor stupid people be left to sleep in security till they sink into destruction.

Son. Well, madam, that is true too; but these things may be done prudently too, and with respect to the public peace; for all such alarms as disturb

people's minds with the fears of public calamities, tend to confusion, and to putting us all in an uproar; as Jonah's preaching to the men of Nineveh that they should be destroyed in forty days, it put all the city into a combustion.

Daughter. And that combustion was the saving the whole city from destruction. Pray, brother, where was the injury done them? they believed the threatening and repented.

Son. Nay, nay, what with the mother and the daughter, you 're sure to carry the point. I do not see the case is parallel at all; you do not prophesy that London shall be destroyed.

Daughter. The case differs, indeed, brother, for let what will be said here that the plague is begun, we do not see that the people believe it, or incline to prepare for it; you see how far you are from believing it yourself.

Mother. But, son, to put an end to all the frivolous pleadings about frighting and alarming the people, I say, that to persuade people to preparations for death because such a judgment is likely to come upon them, is not alarming or frighting them at all; a serious persuading men to repent and prepare, is persuading them to put themselves in such a posture as that they may not be frighted, or surprised, or alarmed, for to be prepared is to be past being frighted, and to be in the only condition that gives courage. You may as well say John the Baptist frighted the people when he preached to them, and cried, "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand."

Son. Then we must come, madam, to inquire what you mean by preparations.

Daughter. If I may speak before my mother, I 'll tell you, brother, what I believe my mother means, or at least how I understand it.

Mother. I doubt not but you both understand it, and understand it alike.

Daughter. I understand by preparations for death, repentance and a reformed life.

Mother. They are the general, indeed, child ; there may be many particulars in them, but I am no preacher, take it there, the rest will follow, of course ; repent and reform, those two will contain all the preparations you can want or I desire.

Son. Nobody can object that we ought not to repent and reform.

Mother. Well, child, I only press to the present going about it, because the judgments of God are at hand, and you complain that this is frighting the people, in which I think you are mistaken.

Son. No, madam, if you mean no otherwise, I join with you with all my heart, certainly we should be persuaded by all just and reasonable argument to repentance and reformation. I did not deny that, I only said I hope the plague may not be so near as you fear it is.

Mother. Well, son, we will not differ about that ; if it pleases God to spare us, and to spare the land in which we live, I shall be one of the first to rejoice and give thanks ; and though I dare not say I expect it, I shall not cease to pray for it, still carrying this along with me in all I have to say of it :

that to repent and reform our lives, and turn with all our hearts to the Lord, which is what I mean by preparations, is the only way to be unsurprised at it when it comes upon us. A mind suitably prepared, is a mind fortified and made bold to meet the world; prepared to give up itself into the hands of a merciful Saviour. A heart prepared is the heart the Scripture speaks of when it says, "He shall not be afraid of evil things, whose heart is fixed, trusting in the Lord" (Psalm cxii. 7).

Thus this conference between mother and son ended for that time. It was now about the month of April 1665, and there had died but one of the plague since December, and that was in the beginning of February, so that the eldest brother used frequently to laugh at his sister about the long dialogue they had held with their mother on the subject of the plague coming upon them, and how it was actually begun; and once or twice jested with her a little profanely, as she thought, about her preparations, as she called them, for the plague.

This grieved the young lady, and made her shed tears several times; and once she took the freedom to say: "Dear brother, you jest at my preparations with too much reason, they being but very weak and imperfect. I pray God I may be able to prepare myself better against such a dreadful time, if ever it should come; but I beseech you, brother, to take care that your own preparations be not a jest indeed when such a time comes; and if it should be so, how will you be able to stand it? for certainly nothing but a mind

well prepared can be able to bear up. How shall our hearts endure, or our hands be strong, in such a day as that?"

It was in the very anguish of her mind that she did this to her brother, and not with any passion or displeasure at his ill-using her; but she did it with such seriousness, such gravity, and so many tears, that he was very much affected with it, asked her pardon, told her he would not jest with her any more upon that subject, that he was satisfied she was much better prepared than he was, and that she was in the right; that he would for the future do all that lay in his power to encourage her preparations; that though he had not received such impressions himself from his mother's discourse as she had, yet he was far from thinking her in the wrong; and that should such a time come as their mother had talked of, he could not deny but she was much better prepared to stand it than he was; but that his dependence was that God would spare them, and not bring such a calamity upon them.

This healed that little wound his loose way of talking had made, and his sister was pacified. She told him she was glad to find him more serious on a subject so weighty; that as to the freedom he took with her, that was nothing, but that it grieved her so that she could not bear it, to hear him speak slightingly of the most dreadful judgments of God that were at that time abroad in the earth; that she was entirely of her mother's opinion that it would not be long before it broke out here, however he might censure and perhaps ridicule the thought as melancholy

and vapourish, and that, as she said, she was fully possessed with a belief of it; so it could not but very sorely afflict her, for his sake, to think how light he made of it; and that her satisfaction was as great, in proportion, to see him abate of the levity with which he had talked of those things.

It was not above a fortnight after this discourse but the town had another alarm, and her brother was the person that brought her home the news of it; for about the 20th of April the news was spread all over the town that the plague was broke out again in St. Giles's parish, and that there was a whole family dead of it.

The young lady was in her chamber one morning when her brother, having been out about his affairs, came home in a very great concern, and coming up to her door, "Oh, sister," says he, "we are all undone." "Undone!" says his sister; "what's the matter?" He could not speak again for a while; but as his sister was frighted, and pressed him again with repeating the words, "What's the matter?" at last he cries out again, "We are all undone, sister. My mother and you were both in the right — the PLAGUE IS BEGUN."

He appeared in the greatest consternation imaginable and his sister had much to do to keep him from swooning. His heart, as he said afterwards, was sunk within him, his thoughts all in confusion, and the affairs both of body and soul lay heavy upon him (for, as I said above, he was a merchant, and engaged in a vast business). His sister received the news without any fright or surprise, but with a calm mind,

stood still a while, as it were, musing to bring her mind to a settled frame, while her brother went on with his exclamations. At length, lifting up her eyes and hands, "'Tis the Lord," cries she; "let Him do what seemeth good in His sight;" and immediately applied herself to relieve her brother, and get something for him to take to restore his spirits, comforting him with her words as well as actions.

He was not so overwhelmed but that he could perceive the surprising manner with which his sister, though so young, received the news; and how free from any oppressions or sinking of her spirits; how it did not discompose her, so as to hinder her concern for him. And when he came a little to himself, he said aloud, "Oh, sister! you are happy, that took the early counsel of our dear mother; with what a different courage does a prepared mind receive the impressions of the most dreadful things, from one that, being careless and negligent in these things as I have been, entertains the first thoughts about them, not till they are just upon him."

"Dear brother," says she, "do not talk so of me; my preparations are poor empty things. I have no preparations but these few, an imperfect repentance, and an humble resolution to cast myself upon infinite mercy; and I hope you have gone beyond me in all these, for you have more knowledge, more years, more experience, and more faith too, than I have, or else it is but very weak."

"You are happy, child, let the judgment come when it will," says her brother; "but I have all my work to do. I have had more years and more knowledge, you

say; and I must add that I have more work to do, more talents to account for, more misspent time to answer for, and I have made no preparations for this surprising condition we are all like to be in; you know I despised it all."

She had, besides this discourse, inquired of him how things were, and how he understood that, as he called it, the plague was begun. He gave her an account that there had been two men buried in St. Giles-in-the-Fields; that it was true that there was but two put in the weekly bills; but he was assured there were two or three houses infected, and that five people were dead in one, and seven in another, and that the number of burials in St. Giles's parish, which used to be about sixteen or eighteen at most, was now increased to thirty, which intimated strongly that the increase was by the plague, though they concealed it, and put them in of other distempers.

This was a terrifying account, and he was exceedingly affected with it himself, as you see; as for the young lady, his sister, who had long used herself to the thoughts of these things, who expected it to be as it happened, and who, from her mother's discourse, having for some months looked upon the distemper as begun, had seriously applied herself to the great work of preparations for death, and was come to that happy state of being entirely resigned to the disposal of Heaven; this being her case, I say, she was far less surprised with it than her brother, and stood, as it were, ready to submit to the will of God, in whatever way it should please Him to deal with her; and thus she abundantly made good the principle her

mother argued upon, viz., that to speak of the plague beforehand as in view, and make preparations for it as a thing certain, was so far from being a needless alarm to the people and frighting and terrifying them, that it was the only way to preserve them; and was the only way to keep the public peace, as he called it, by keeping the people composed and free from the confusions and tumultuous hurries which they are otherwise apt to fall into on such occasions.

But the scene was not, as it were, yet spread, or the tragedy begun; there was another prelude to appear, even in the narrow compass of this one family. Oh, may it not be the case of many among us, upon the present view of things of the like kind.

When the first disorders of the thing were a little abated, and this gentleman come a little more to himself, things took a new turn with him; he was necessarily embarrassed in his business in the day, and in company in the evening; but in the morning had always a little conversation with his sister, and she soon observed that after the first two or three days, in which he continued much affected with the danger they were all in, and his own unprepared condition also, as he owned it to be, — I say, after this she observed that he dropped the discourse by little and little, till at last he said nothing at all of it to her for three or four days. Upon this, one morning as they were talking together, she broke in upon him with it thus: "Dear brother," says she, "you tell me no news now, nor how we stand as to this terrible stroke that is coming upon us; I cannot but be very

much concerned to hear what condition we are in; pray how does it go on?"

"God be praised," says he, "the distemper is stopped again. They say it was only a violent fever seized one or two families, and that the people have been in such a fright about it, by the rashness of some old women that set up a cry of the plague, that it has put all the town in an uproar; but 't is stopped, and I saw the weekly bill to-day; the number of burials in St. Giles's are decreased again, and none of the plague or fever more than usual."

Sister. I am glad to hear it, brother; I wish it may hold.

Brother. I hope it will, sister. Come, do not be like my mother.

Sister. I wish I could be like my mother.

Brother. Ay, but do not be like her in this; do not be always foreboding.

Sister. Dear brother, I forebode to nobody but myself. I do not take upon me to teach you, or say anything but just when you ask me.

Brother. Well, but do not forebode to yourself, sister. Why, you will bring yourself to mope, and be dull upon it till you come to have the vapours and be half mad.

Sister. I hope not, brother; I do not think so disconsolately upon it. I hope I am in the hands of God, and 't is my mercy that I am so. I only want more strength to bring my faith to an entire dependence upon Him.

Brother. But still you go upon the old story, that the distemper will certainly come upon us.

Sister. Nay, I cannot but say I expect it as certainly as if it were here just now; that I cannot go from.

Brother. No, no, I hope not. Come, God may be better to us than our fears allow us to suggest; it may go off.

Sister. Then I hope I shall be thankful, but ——

Brother. But what, prithee, girl? Do not be always prophesying evil tidings, that is, ringing knells over us before we are dead.

Sister. Oh dear! how can you talk so, brother? I prophesy nothing. I do not pretend to it, but the thing foretells itself. God has given us notice of it several times, and as good as bid us expect it. Shall I be so blind, and not take the warning? God forbid! Indeed, brother, I cannot help believing that it will certainly come still.

Brother. Well, and is not this, as I say, prophesying evil tidings?

Sister. No, brother, it is not, because I do not trouble anybody with my talk. I should not have said so much to you, but that you extort it. These are notices to myself only.

Brother. But I would have you be encouraged, and have you encourage us all. You are our governess, and when you are dull and melancholy all the family will be so.

Sister. I am not dull and melancholy, but sure, brother, this is not a time to be thoughtless. Nobody can be so that has any common-sense. You was alarmed enough yourself but a week ago. I do not think you have lost those just impressions it

made upon you then, though you are not willing they should be seen so plain as they were then.

Brother. It was all without reason, I think verily. I see 't is all nothing but the fright of old women, and of foolish people, worse than old women, that raised the tumult all over the city.

Sister. Well, brother, if it prove so, it will be well; but I am sorry to see you cool so fast upon it, before you are sure the danger is over.

Brother. Child, the danger cannot be said to be over, because it was never a real danger. As an alarm and fright it never had a foundation but in the imagination of a few foolish people, I say, who have so long talked the town into expectation of the plague that, like wildfire, they take at the first touch, and away they run headlong with a story, as if they would have it be so; for fright and wishes equally impose upon people, and make us believe anything. When we either desire to have a thing, or are terribly afraid of it, we believe it at first word, nay, we believe the very rumour of it.

Sister. But you are not sure, brother, that you have been imposed upon in this.

Brother. Yes, very sure, very sure. I am satisfied 't is all a rumour, a mere noise, and there is nothing at all in it but what I tell you.

Sister. You do not know it of your own knowledge, brother?

Brother. I have not been up there indeed, but if you will, I 'll go to the very houses and inquire into all the particulars, though I think I am very well informed how it is.

Sister. By no means, brother; I would not have you go for a thousand pounds.

Brother. I don't think there is any danger in it at all. I would not value going there a farthing; the people that were sick are in their graves, or well again, and all is over.

Sister. Well, brother, I can say nothing to it, you know those things better than I. However, as you have no occasion to go thither, don't talk of that, I entreat you.

Brother. There is no occasion, indeed, for I am satisfied of the thing, and so is the whole city in general.

Sister. Well, God fit us all for His will, and grant we may be prepared to meet Him with a due submission in all His providences of what kind soever.

Brother. You are mighty solemn, child, about it; 't is strange you cannot be satisfied as other people are. Why, your fright might be over by this time, one would think. Why, 't is almost a fortnight ago.

Sister. Dear brother, I hope I should not be frighted if it were already come; but I desire to be seriously looking up to Heaven for needful courage against the time, for I am fully persuaded it is not far off.

Brother. Well, I see you won't be beaten off of it, you will be prophetic; but if it were to be so, child, we cannot put it off. To what purpose should we anticipate our sorrow and be mourning about it, whether it comes or no?

Sister. Oh, brother, let us remember my mother's words; when it is upon us it will be no time to make our preparations, then the weight will be too heavy,

the warning too short. The plague is not a thing that gives warning then, or that gives time for repentance. Now is the time for preparation.

Brother. I hope, my dear, you are thoroughly prepared for it, and therefore do not be dejected, do not be so melancholy. I tell you, child, you must encourage us all.

Sister. No, no, brother, I dare not say I am prepared, and therefore I have cause to be melancholy, as you call it. I have done nothing, and can do nothing but fly to the arms of mercy. Alas! my preparations are poor mean things; you are better prepared than I, to be sure, brother, or else you could not have so much courage. [*Here, as he acknowledged afterward, he was struck with some terrible reflections, and he stood mute for some time; when his sister, who perceived it, went on again.*]

Sister. It is a good thing, brother, to have so much temper in a case of this consequence as you have. I wish I had more courage.

Brother. Well, we will talk of that another time.

[*He could not hold it any longer, but retired.*]

"Well," said he to himself, "this poor child has more religion, ay, and more wisdom too, than all of us. In short, she is seriously preparing for the visitation, should it come; and while I reproach her with being frighted, 't is evident I was more frighted than she was when the alarm of its being broke out last week at St. Giles's run among us; and should it really come upon us, I know not what to say. Her words are very true, 't will be no time for preparation then."

PREPARATIONS FOR THE PLAGUE

The same day, in the evening, being in his counting-house with his brother, he began to talk a little with him about it. "Brother," says he, "I cannot help having some dull thoughts in my head sometimes about this talk that is so public, that we are like to have the plague among us this summer."

2nd Brother. Some dull thoughts, do you call it? I assure you I am almost distracted about it.

1st Brother. It would put our business all into confusion if it should come.

2nd Brother. Into confusion, do you say? nay, it would ruin us all.

1st Brother. No, I hope 't would not ruin us neither.

2nd Brother. It would ruin me, I am sure; my very heart sinks within me when I speak of it.

1st Brother. What do you mean? Why, you are worse than our governess.

2nd Brother. She, poor child! she is in the best case of us all, she is safe, come or not come; I wish I were in her condition, then I could have courage enough.

1st Brother. You mean as to the religious part, I suppose; indeed, she is a serious dear child; I have had a long discourse about it with her; she talks like an angel.

2nd Brother. She has been preparing for this calamity a great while; she is happy; but who can say they have done as she has done?

1st Brother. But hark 'e, you talk as she does in one part; why, you talk as if you were sure we should have it among us; I hope the danger is over.

2nd Brother. Over! How can you talk so; I wonder you can be so secure.

1st Brother. Why, what have you heard about it to-day?

2nd Brother. Nay, I have heard nothing to-day; but you know how it is as well as I.

1st Brother. I know there was none in the last week's bill of the plague; and I am told there will be none in this.

2nd Brother. As to the bills, I wonder you should lay any stress upon what they say; you know well enough they are managed not to put them in openly of the plague. Private people get their dead put in of other distempers, that their houses may not be marked or ordered to be shut up; they bribe the searchers and parish officers; and, on the other hand, the public themselves are not willing to have the town alarmed; it would make a terrible alarm all over the world, you know; the ships will be denied product all over the world, and it will ruin trade at home and abroad; but alas! that 's a trifle to what I talk of.

1st Brother. Why, you talk as if it was not over indeed; is it really your opinion, then, that it is not over?

2nd Brother. My opinion! Ay, and everybody's opinion, too, besides mine.

1st Brother. Why, by your discourse it is really begun.

2nd Brother. Depend upon it, 't is more than begun, 't is spread every way into several streets in St. Giles's; and they will not be able to conceal it long.

1st Brother. You are enough to put the whole town in a fright, brother; why, you are as bad as my sister the governess.

2nd Brother. Would I was as good as my sister. But what do you mean by being as bad as she is? She is frighted at it, I suppose, as I am.

1st Brother. Why, truly I don't know whether she is or no; for when I came about a fortnight ago, and told her the plague was begun, as you know we all heard it was, she received the news with such a composure of mind as, I confess, I wondered at, and after considerable time of silence, answered only that it was the hand of God, and He ought to do as pleases Him with us.

2nd Brother. That was like her, indeed; but don't say I am like her, I do not pretend to it, I assure you; I am all horror and confusion at the thoughts of it.

1st Brother. I do not say you are like her so, indeed I don't know it; but you are like her in this, she is for alarming everybody, as if the plague was actually among us, when she knows nothing of it; and so are you.

2nd Brother. Well, but hark 'e, brother, have a care of being in a worse extreme; for you seem to be for lulling yourself asleep, when you know the flame is kindled.

1st Brother. Do I know it is kindled? Don't say so; I hope 't is not.

2nd Brother. You cannot seriously say you hope it is not; you may say, as I do, that you wish it were not; but you cannot but know it is actually begun, it

is spread a great way already, and in a very few weeks will be all over the city.

1st Brother. You make my blood run chill in my veins. What do you mean? I cannot say I know it; I was really of the opinion it was stopped again, and that the danger was over, at least for the present.

2nd Brother. And so your first apprehensions cooled again, I perceive.

1st Brother. That 't was too much my case, I confess.

2nd Brother. And was mine too, after the first appearance of it at Christmas last. I have been just like a sick-bed penitent — as soon as the fear was over the penitence cooled and abated. But I feel the return with a double reproach upon me. I think it will sink me before the distemper comes.

1st Brother. Well, but do not be so positive. I hope you are not so sure of the bad news as you make yourself.

2nd Brother. Dear brother, why, you and I know how these things are abroad. Don't you know how the plague at Messina came creeping on just when we left the city, and went away again two or three times; but as soon as the sun advanced, and they got into May, it broke out like a fire that had been smothered with hot ashes; and what havoc it made, and the like, at Gallipoli and on the Calabrian Coast? Depend upon it, the distemper is only smothered with these northerly winds, so that it creeps slowly on; but as soon as the winds come westerly, and the weather is a little close and warm, you will see dreadful work here. I do not speak to alarm you, but we should not be blind to our own danger.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE PLAGUE

This discourse ended here for the present; but the very next day, which was about the 3rd or 4th of May, the youngest brother having been out in the morning, and coming into the counting-house where his brother was, wanting very much to give vent to his thoughts, he desired one of their servants who was there to withdraw, and shutting the door after him, his brother was just going to open the door again to go out too, but he said, "Don't go out, brother. I want to speak with you." So his brother sat down, and seeing him look a little disordered, he said, "What's the matter, brother? Have you heard any bad news?"

2nd Brother. Ay, ay, bad news enough, I assure you. We are all undone at last.

1st Brother. What is it? What, do you hear any more of the plague?

2nd Brother. Any more of it! Why, 't is come into the city. There is one dead in the next street to us almost; 't is but in Bearbinder Lane.

1st Brother. What! of the plague itself?

2nd Brother. Ay, indeed! My Lord Mayor sent two surgeons to search the body, and they have both given it in that he died of the plague. He was a Frenchman. I told you how it would be.

1st Brother. Well, but this may be some straggling loose fellow that has come down from St. Giles's for fear of it, because it was there about a fortnight ago.

2nd Brother. Don't let us flatter ourselves any longer, brother, or trifle with Heaven. It is spread at the other end of the town into the Strand, and

from thence into Holborn. You shall see in two or three weeks more what dreadful work it will make.

1st Brother. What shall we do, brother? What will become of us all, and what will become of the business?

2nd Brother. Nay, what will become of our souls? I am undone if I stay here. I 'll go over to France.

1st Brother. Alas! it is too late for that, brother. Before you can get thither their ports will be all locked up. They won't let a vessel from England come near them, you may be sure.

2nd Brother. I am sure it 's too late for something else. I have mocked God with that part once already.

1st Brother. You are enough to terrify one to death. Let us see a little about us before we talk thus.

2nd Brother. Oh, brother, you do by the danger as I have done by my preparations — put it off as long as you can. You talk of seeing about us. Why, you will see in a very few days the plague be about us, and no room to escape from it. I warrant you will see people preparing to get out of this dreadful city as fast as they can, if you do go but as far as the Exchange, and all trade in a kind of stagnation, and it is time indeed it should be so.

1st Brother. I do not see that we can go out of it, at least not I, unless I will give up all our business, and leave everything to be ruined, and be a booty for the next comer.

2nd Brother. I am sure if I stay here, I shall look upon myself as a dead man.

1st Brother. I hope not, brother; all do not per-

ish in the worst plague; though the plague were to come, sure it will leave some of us behind.

2nd Brother. But I have no room to expect that I should be kept.

1st Brother. Why not? I hope you will; do not be frighted.

2nd Brother. Oh, I have mocked God, I say, with my former preparations. When I was justly alarmed I pretended repentance and reformation; but when the fright was over, and we flattered ourselves that the destroying angel was passed over, I cooled and abated in my warmth, and became the same loose, wicked fellow I was before. I have broke all my vows and resolutions, dropped my preparations, and how can I go about the same work again now?

1st Brother. I hope it will not be too late; you talk like a distracted man. Why, 't is never too late to call upon God for mercy.

2nd Brother. No, but it may be too late to obtain it. Besides, when the distemper comes among us, what time, what temper, what power to look up? what capacity to look in? what calling upon God in the agonies of a plague swelling, or in the distraction of the fever? It is too late, brother, it should have been done before; I am almost distracted already with the thoughts of it.

1st Brother. You will distract yourself and me too at this rate; why, what must be done?

2nd Brother. I may well say, "Lord, be merciful to me," for I am at my wits' ends, and know not what to do. I wish you would let us shut up the counting-house, and let us be gone.

1st Brother. Be gone; whither shall we go?

2nd Brother. Nay, anywhere. I am sure I shall never be able to stand it; my very heart dies within me at the apprehensions and the fright of it.

1st Brother. But you must endeavour to rouse up your spirits and not be cast down.

2nd Brother. Oh, brother, whose heart can endure, or whose hand be strong in the day that God shall deal with them? God is now taking us all into His own hands; we shall no more be able to dally with Him — repent, and go back, and repent again, and go back again. Oh, 't is dreadful work to make a jest of our repentance as I have done.

1st Brother. I beseech you, brother, compose yourself; you will die with the fright indeed at this rate. Come, I 'll go out and see what I can learn of it, and what measures are to be taken.

Thus this discourse ended also, and the elder brother went out into the city, and he found it to be all true as his brother had said; that the plague now spread into several parishes at the other end of the town, and that there was particularly, in the old place, five or six families infected, that is, at St. Giles's, near Long Acre, and about the north end of Drury Lane; also it spread down Drury Lane into St. Clement's parish, and the other way into St. Andrew's, Holborn; so that it apparently went forward towards the city, and the next weekly bill had nine persons put in of the plague, besides those that were concealed.

The eldest brother came home in the evening, and

as he found all that his brother said was true, he was very anxious about it, though he did not discover it so much as his brother; but, in short, the whole house was very melancholy. It is true the younger's melancholy was different from the rest, and very particular, because it was attended with a sadness of another kind — I mean the great concern he was under for his future state.

He had several conversations upon the subject with his brother, which chiefly turned upon the measures that they were to take to preserve themselves, and to put their business in a posture to receive as little damage as possible by so general interruption as it was like to meet with on this occasion; but as these things do not so nearly concern the affair of religious preparations, I have no exact account of them, nor are the particulars of any value in this discourse. This much I learn from what I have collected, namely, that he did not receive any manner of satisfaction or comfort from his eldest brother in the particular thing that afflicted him; and continuing very disconsolate, his pious sister, who was greatly concerned for him, came into his chamber one day, about ten days after the first talk with his brother, where he was sitting very pensive and heavy, and began to comfort him.

Sister. Dear brother, I am very sorry to see you in this melancholy, discouraged condition; what can I do for you? It is a sad time with us all.

Brother. Poor child, thou canst do nothing for me but pray for me; do that, child, however.

Sister. I pray for you, brother! that I do always; but what am I that you should ask me to pray for you? Shall I send for some good minister to pray with you, and for you, and to comfort you, that may be of some use to you?

Brother. No, no; come sit down here, thou art a good comforter enough to me. Tell me, my dear, what upholds your mind in this dismal time; for you have the most courage and the most composure of mind, they say, of the whole family?

Sister. No, no, you are quite wrong; my brother outdoes us all, he is like one above it all, that lived unshaken with any apprehensions whatever; he has a strong faith. Oh, that I had a heart so prepared, so steady, so unconcerned as he has.

Brother. Sister, sister, you mistake the point; my brother puts the evil day far from him, buoys himself up with hopes that the judgment will pass over, and that it is not so near or so certain as we have all reason to see it is, and he flatters himself with this, or with escaping it if it comes. I tell you, he has no more courage than other people, but I think he is stupid.

Sister. No, no, my brother is a good man, I hope. He is not so secure in a time of such danger but upon very good ground; he has a perfect calm in his mind for aught I see, sure that can never be but upon a firm dependence upon God. Oh, if I could arrive to that, if it were God's will!

Brother. I am sorry to say, sister, that you are mistaken. He knows nothing of that happy condition

you speak of, nor I neither. You are in a better state than any of us.

Sister. Dear brother, do not say so of me; you grieve me extremely. I that am the worst creature alive, what state can I be in? I hope, too, you are wrong in the case of my brother and yourself.

Brother. This is not a time, sister, to flatter or compliment; the judgments of God are coming upon us; what must be done, what is our work, what is our duty?

Sister. We talk of preparations, and some preach early preparations; I know nothing we can do but learn to die at the feet of Christ as miserable penitents; this is all I can come to.

Brother. Oh, sister, if I could do that I should think myself safe.

Sister. He will accept all that come unto God by Him.

Brother. But I should have come before; to talk of it now is to talk nothing. We cannot be said to come now; we do not come, we are driven.

Sister. That 's true; but so His goodness is pleased to act with us that He will accept those who are persuaded by the terrors of the Lord as well as those who are drawn by His love.

Brother. There is no sincerity in coming now.

Sister. I hope there is, brother; many a criminal is accepted, even at the place of execution, which may be called driving, as much as anything.

Brother. 'T is hard work to repent under distress, and 't is hard to entertain notions of our own sincerity under such circumstances. How shall I prepare now,

that have not gone about it till the judgments of God are upon us, and I am driven to it, as it were, in the terrors of death?

Sister. Do not discourage me, brother; while you discourage yourself the judgment of God is begun, and we are to prepare for it, that is to say, to be ready to meet Him with our souls prostrate at His feet. We are to say, "'T is the Lord, let Him do with us what seems good in His sight;" and this is a work proper to go about even now. I am sure I must go about it now as well as you; I entreat you, do not discourage me, I want all the help to it possible.

Brother. I do not discourage you, sister; you have been beforehand with the work; you have led a life of preparation a great while. I have lost all the time past, and that doubles the work for the time to come.

Sister. I have done nothing, and can do nothing; neither can any of us do anything but submit and be resigned.

Brother. We must submit and be resigned as to God's disposing of us; but I speak of another work, sister, that lies hard and heavy upon my spirits. I have a long misspent life to look back upon, I have an ocean of crimes to launch through, a weight that sinks the soul, and without God's infinite mercy will sink it for ever; what is resigning to God's disposal to this? No man can resign to be eternally lost; no man can say he submits to be rejected of God. I could cheerfully submit to whatever it pleases God to do with me here, whether to die or to live; but I must be pardoned, sin must be done away, or I am

lost and undone; it cannot be said I can resign that point.

Sister. No, brother, I do not mean so; we must resign our bodies, but we are allowed to be humbly importunate for the pardon of our sins, the sanctifying our hearts, and the saving our souls; and then we shall do the other with cheerfulness and satisfaction.

Brother. Well, sister, now you come to me; this pardon is not to be obtained but upon a sincere repentance and a firm faith in Christ; and this is the work, I say, I have still to do, and that you have not neglected as I have done.

Sister. Oh, brother, I have done little, I have it every day to do as well as you, and 't is a work must be renewed every day; I desire to be every day applying to it with all my power. I hope you do so too, for we make fresh work for repentance every day.

Brother. It is a dreadful work to have to do at such a time as this.

Sister. But, brother, though the having deferred our repentance to the last gasp be a discouraging thing, and that, as you say, a sick bed or the time of visitation is not a time for it, yet, blessed be God, it is not forbidden then; it does not make our repentance unlawful, it only unfits us for it; neither, as you suggest, does repenting at last make the repentance be less severe; it may indeed render it suspected to ourselves, but it does not follow that it cannot be sincere because it is late.

Brother. It takes away all the comfort of repentance, that I am sure of, and much of the hope of it too.

Sister. But not to go about it at all is still worse, brother.

Brother. I know not what to go about, or when to go about it.

Sister. I hope you know, brother, both what to do and when.

Brother. The time is lapsed, death is at the door, what can be done now? It is not, what our particular frame or temper may be just now, but what the main course and tenor of life has been; we are to be judged according to our works.

Sister. 'T is true the evil, I doubt, is at hand, though I know nothing how it is; my brother told me the plague was ceased again, and all was over; but I lay no stress upon that; I desire to be always what I should be if it was upon me particularly.

Brother. Indeed, 't is far from being over, 't is increasing every day, 't is got into three or four parishes the other end of the town, and it spreads this way apace.

Sister. Well, brother, 't is a loud call upon us, to improve the few days we have left.

Brother. I resolve not to lose a moment, but to apply the time that remains, as much as possible; but, alas! what can I do? Is not all a mere farce, a fright? If the sickness should go off I shall be just the same again.

Sister. You pass sentence upon yourself too rashly, brother; you are no more sure you shall do so than you are sure you shall go to heaven.

Brother. I have a sad rule to judge by; I have done so once already, when we had the same apprehensions five months ago, and what can I say less?

I shall be just the same man, for this is all the same thing, 't is being driven into an harbour by a storm; as soon as the storm is over the ship puts to sea again, and goes on the same voyage she was going before, and steers the same course she steered before, and so shall I; I am only driven upon my knees by the storm.

Sister. I hope not, brother. You know the story of the prodigal: he was driven by evident misery and starving, as bad a storm as any man can be driven with; he tells you, "I perish for hunger." He never thought of returning to his father till he was ready to perish, that is, just at the gate of destruction.

Brother. That 's but a parable, sister.

Sister. But remember, brother, what the moral of it was, what the design of the story was, and, above all, who told it.

Brother. That 's true, but what is that moral to my case?

Sister. Why, brother, He that told that story with His own mouth is the same Father who is to accept of us prodigals; and, I think, He clearly tells us there, that He will receive us, however late, and by whatever necessity or distress we are driven. What else did He tell us that story for?

Brother. That 's a comforting application of it indeed, and I think it will hold.

Sister. I hope it is a true application of it, brother; I am glad it seems to be seasonable to your case.

[*She perceived that his countenance altered, and that he looked more cheerful than he did before.*]

Brother. It is so seasonable to me, that nothing can be more; dear sister, you are a healing preacher to me. That very case is my case, and, as you say, our Blessed Lord gives a plain call in it to every distressed prodigal, to come back when he is ready to perish.

Sister. I am no preacher, brother, I am but a girl — a child in these things — but the story of the prodigal came into my head just then. I hope you are no prodigal.

Brother. Yes, yes, I am a prodigal; I have wasted the substance that I have had given me, the time, and talents of health and strength that has been spared me, and now I am just like him, ready to perish; death is at the door; if it came into your head, as you say, without any forethought, it was God's goodness put it into your head, and thought too; it was spoken for me; I will observe it, I will return to my Father, and say, "Father, I have sinned against Heaven and before Thee," &c.

Sister. Blessed be God for the encouragement you have from it. I desire to make the same use of it myself.

[*Here they were interrupted by the coming of their elder brother, who had been abroad, and came with very bad news to them.*]

Sister. Here's my brother, I hear him ring at the door.

Brother. Well, then, we shall have some further account of things, dreadful news I do not question.

[*The brother comes in.*]

Sister. Well, brother, you have been at the Ex-

change I hear; what news have you, how do things go?

1st Brother. Truly, I know not what to say, 't is bad enough, but it is not worse than it was, at least they tell us so; I have the account that will be in to-morrow's weekly bill, it was brought to my Lord Mayor, as, it seems, was ordered every week, before it is printed.

2nd Brother. What! That is, I suppose, that the number may not be made too large in the article of the plague. They may do what they will, but the people will know those things, and if they see any tricks used with them they will think the worse.

1st Brother. How can you suggest such a thing, brother? There is no room for it; the number is known, and everybody is allowed to see it.

Sister. And, pray, how many is it, brother?

1st Brother. Why, the whole number is but seventeen, and there was fourteen last week, so that the number increased is but three, which is no great matter; and 't is all at that end of the town.

2nd Brother. Mark how partial my brother is in his relation. He says there is but seventeen of the plague; but, pray, how many is there of the spotted fever?

1st Brother. Truly, there is a pretty many of that distemper; indeed, I think 't is twenty-three.

2nd Brother. That 's part of the cheat I told you of. People conceal the distemper as much as they can, that their customers may not shun their shops; and so they put them in of the spotted fever or anything they can get the searchers to return them of, when they really die of the plague.

1st Brother. I can say nothing to that; I take things always for true when authority publishes them.

2nd Brother. I am for being imposed upon by nobody, especially in a case that so nearly touches my life, as this does.

Sister. I think there is not much in it either way; 't is plain the plague is begun, and spreads apace, and it is not much to the purpose how many it increases this week or next, the case will be decided in three or four weeks more beyond all objection.

2nd Brother. Nay, as it is, we see it spreads apace this way.

1st Brother. But it is not come into the city yet, except that one man who died in Bearbinder Lane a month ago.

Sister. Another month or two, brother, will show us a quite different pace, and instead of seventeen or twenty you will see a thousand a week, perhaps more.

1st Brother. God forbid! Sister, I beseech you, do not prophesy evil things.

2nd Brother. Brother, I beseech you, do not flatter yourself. Will you never be alarmed? Do you consider the numbers of people that there are in such a city as this? My sister talks of a thousand a week; if it comes to be a thorough infection, there may be five times so many die in a week, and the whole town may be a mere pest-house and a desolation.

Sister. My brother sees us discouraged; 't is only that he is not willing to have us be too much

frighted; but a few weeks will put us all out of doubt.

1*st Brother.* I do not either alarm you or endeavour to make you secure, but I see you are both resolved to have it be thought worse than it is, and I am for having it called nothing but what it is. So many have died of it last week, and as many more have died of several particular distempers; 't is time to be frighted and hurried when we see it come upon us; I am not for making things worse than they are.

2*nd Brother.* Well, brother, that is a good way of talking enough to them that are ready and prepared for the worst, as my sister says you are, and I am glad to hear it; but the more unhappy it is for me, my work is yet to do, and I have differing reasons why I am more alarmed than you, for I am utterly unprepared for it, God knows.

Sister. Ay, and I too.

1*st Brother.* You are enough to terrify any one to death, both of you. If you are unprepared, you must go and prepare, then, if you think fit; for my part, I cannot bear to hear you talk thus.

[*He goes out, and, as they thought, seemed to be angry.*]

2*nd Brother.* That 's very unkind; he seems to triumph over my being unprepared; it is my unhappiness, but it can be nobody's satisfaction, I think.

Sister. My brother can't mean so; however, brother, let us take the hint and set about the work.

Brother. Oh, sister, is it in any one's power to prepare themselves for such a terrible time as this? How is it to be done? and what can we do?

Sister. "The preparation of the heart is from the Lord" (Prov. xvi. 1).

Brother. We talk of preparations as if there was a stated settled form of preparing for the plague, which when performed we were ready for it whenever it came. For my part, I know no preparation for the plague but a preparation for death. He that is ready to die is ready to have the plague.

Sister. I understand it so too, exactly.

Brother. Why, then, dear sister, you are of my mind exactly. Will you join then with me and let us set upon the great work as well together as apart? Let us set up our rest for death, that is, that we shall certainly die of this visitation, and endeavour to bring our souls to such a frame as that we may with cheerfulness throw ourselves into the arms of Divine mercy through the merit of Jesus Christ, whenever He shall summon us, be it by this dreadful visitation or by what other providence He thinks fit.

Sister. I am very little able to forward you in such a work; but I will join in anything that I am able, as well with respect to my own part as to anything else we can do together.

Brother. But what do you look upon to be the first work?

Sister. The first thing I can think of is a full resolution, a firm purpose of heart, to forsake all our sins, and to return heartily to God, who we have offended.

Brother. By returning to God I suppose you understand repenting sincerely for all our past sins, mourning unfeignedly over them, and calling upon God for pardon and forgiveness.

Sister. I do so; and there is great encouragement for us to do this, in the Scriptures. Hosea vi. 1: "Come, and let us return unto the Lord: for He hath torn, and He will heal us; He hath smitten, and He will bind us up." Isaiah lv. 7: "Let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts: and let him return unto the Lord, and He will have mercy upon him; and to our God, for He will abundantly pardon." Isaiah xix. 22, 25: "And the Lord shall smite Egypt: He shall smite and heal it: and they shall return even to the Lord, and He shall be intreated of them, and shall heal them. Whom the Lord of Hosts shall bless, saying Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel mine inheritance."

Brother. This is true, but how shall we do this, and who can effectually return to God? 'T is a hard work.

Sister. We must look up to Him for assistance, even in this very work. Lam. v. 21: "Turn thou us, O Lord, unto Thee, and we shall be turned; renew our days as of old." Jer. xxxi. 18: "I have surely heard Ephraim bemoaning himself thus; 'Thou hast chastised me, and I was chastised, as a bullock unaccustomed to the yoke: turn Thou me, and I shall be turned; for Thou art the Lord my God.'" Ezek. xviii. 30: "Repent, and turn yourselves from all your transgressions; so iniquity shall not be your ruin." Verses 31, 32: "Cast away from you all your transgressions, whereby ye have transgressed; and make you a new heart and a new spirit: for why will ye die, O house of Israel? For I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth, saith the Lord God:

wherefore turn yourselves, and live ye." Ezek. xxxiii. 11: "Say unto them, As I live, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live: turn ye, turn ye from your evil ways; for why will ye die, O house of Israel?"

Brother. There is another text which touches my very soul every time I read it; methinks it speaks to me. It is the very sort of turning that I think I want, and it seems to be even a direction to me how to turn, and what turning to God means in His own sense of it; how He is pleased to understand it, or what it is He will accept as a sincere turning to Him; it is in Joel ii. 12, 13: "Therefore also now, saith the Lord, turn ye even to Me with all your heart, and with fasting, and with weeping, and with mourning: and rend your heart, and not your garments, and turn unto the Lord your God: for He is gracious and merciful, slow to anger, and of great kindness, and repenteth Him of the evil."

Sister. That is an extraordinary place, indeed. I had omitted it, but I remember it very well, and the words of the verse before it seem to make the reason for that particular call of turning to God to be much the same with what is before us.

Brother. I did not look at that part. The call was loud to me, and I see reason enough before me; it affected me indeed exceedingly.

Sister. But the words immediately before will add to it still. Pray look here.

[*She turns to the words, and gives him the book, and he reads them.*]

Brother. They are wonderful indeed. Verse 11: "For the day of the Lord is great and very terrible. Who can abide it?" Ay, who can abide it? Who indeed can abide it? 'T is our case just now; the judgment that is now coming upon us may well be said to be the day of the Lord, and it is very terrible, indeed none can be able to abide it.

Sister. The next words are ushered in with this as a reason for them, "Therefore turn unto the Lord with all your hearts, with fasting, with weeping, and with mourning."

Brother. Dear sister, this is indeed our direction; let us obey the voice of our rule, and we cannot be wrong in it.

Sister. Nay, they are the words of God Himself, that is to say, the prophet speaks them as immediately from God, and in His very name, "Therefore also now saith the Lord;" and the next words are as if God spoke immediately, "Turn ye even to Me."

Brother. This is a call to us, to me, sister, in particular, and I have great reason for it, and do it in the particular manner directed — namely, with fasting, with weeping, and with mourning.

Sister. 'T is a call to me as well as to you, brother, and I have as much reason to think 't is directed particularly to me as you can have, and more too, much more.

Brother. Dear sister, let us dispute that no longer between us. Will you join with me in this work? Shall we repent together, and humble our souls together?

Sister. Ay, brother, with all my heart. I will be thankful to you for so much help in such a work.

Brother. We have opportunity to help and assist one another. God alone knows how long we may be continued together; how long it may be before we may be snatched from one another, or both snatched away, as it were, together.

Sister. I rejoice at the motion, brother; I have had no helps before; I have been alone in all things of this nature; I bless God for the offer, and will join with you in everything that you desire of me, and, above all, in receiving help and counsel and assistance from you.

Here we can follow this happy couple no farther at present, that is, in their particular conversation; but it is to be recorded for the example of others in like case, that they agreed to spend two hours every evening and an hour every morning together in her closet, where they prayed together, read the Scripture together, and discoursed together, as their particular circumstances made it seasonable. In these retirements the brother prayed aud made a daily confession of sin, the sister read the Scriptures, and in their discourses they were mutual.

Besides this, they locked themselves up every Tuesday and Friday, and kept the whole day as a solemn fast, neither eating or drinking till about four o'clock in the afternoon; where it might be truly said of them both, as was said of Manasseh, that they humbled themselves greatly before the Lord their God; and as the Scripture above mentioned directed,

they did it with fasting and weeping, and with mourning.

The young man in particular was a pattern for penitents, and in an especial manner he was afflicted, and continually reproached himself with having put off his preparation and repentance formerly till the very judgment was at the door, and with having been once before touched with a like sense of the danger, but growing cold and unconcerned again as the danger abated and went off. This robbed him of much of the comfort of his present application, and he continually upbraided himself with it as if it was a test of his future insincerity, and it was very discouraging to him. He would also frequently express himself on that head, how much it should be considered by every one in such cases never to fall back from their own resolutions, and how sad a token it was of real hypocrisy, and particularly how hard it would be for such people, if ever they came to be true penitents, to believe themselves so, or to receive the comfort of their own humiliations.

In this distress of mind he received great assistance from the comforting discourses and excellent example of his pious sister, who was now the companion of his best hours, and his support in his greatest discouragements.

She had given the first life to his resolutions by hinting to him that our blessed Saviour Himself was the author of that parable of the prodigal; and that as it was said, introductory to the parable of the unjust judge, that He speaks a parable to them to this end, that men ought always to pray and not to faint; so

that it might be said of the parable of the prodigal, that He spake a parable to this end, that men ought always to return to God their Father when they are in distress, and not to decline for its being late. She had upon all occasions repeated to him such encouraging texts of Scripture as occurred to her to support his resolutions, and that she was daily searching the Bible for such texts of Scripture as might be particularly adapted to these purposes.

It happened that under some of his great discouragements, for he had many, and most of them beginning at the doubts he had upon his mind of his own sincerity, and of his being accepted because of his having not applied himself to his humiliations till it pleased God to bring the terror of the plague upon him, and till the judgment was, as it were, at the door, — I say, under one of the worst dejections, his sister thought of another example. "Come, brother," says she, "I have another Scripture instance for your encouragement, where God accepted one of the worst wretches that ever was alive, and who never returned till he was brought to the greatest extremity — a greater instance of wickedness never was in the world. Nor did he ever think of returning, as we read of, till God struck him, and brought him down to the lowest degree of misery; and yet, upon his humbling himself, he was accepted. Will such an example comfort you?" says she. "I think," says he, "you were born to comfort me. Who was it?" "Here it is," says she. "Take it, as it is recorded on purpose to encourage penitents under the worst circumstances. It is the story of Manasseh, the most wicked of all the

kings of God's people (2 Chron. xxxiii.). In the beginning of the chapter to the seventh verse you have an account of his wickedness, such as the like was never in Jerusalem before him, doing abominable things, profaning God's house and His altar, witchcraft, sorcery, and dealing with the devil; also (verse 10), 't is said the Lord spake to him and he would not hearken; so that he resisted even God Himself, and rejected the gracious call of God to him to repent. This, brother, was much worse than what you call growing cold and negligent, and letting your sense of things wear off. Well, after this (verse 11) —'Wherefore the Lord brought upon them the captain of the hosts of the king of Assyria, which took Manasseh among the thorns, and bound him with fetters, and carried him to Babylon.' This was driving him, as you call it, with a witness. He was pulled down from a throne to a dungeon, from a crown of gold and chains of gold as ornaments, to chains of iron to fetter and bind him as one kept for execution. But see verses 12, 13: 'And when he was in affliction, he besought the Lord his God, and humbled himself greatly before the God of his fathers, and prayed unto Him; and He was intreated of him, and heard his supplications, and brought him again to Jerusalem into his own kingdom. Then Manasseh knew that the Lord He was God.' Now, brother," says she, "what think you of all this?" Tears of joy ran down his face while she read the words of the two last verses; and when she asked him at last what he thought of it, "Think of it?" says he. "My dear sister, my happy comforter! I think I will never be

discouraged more." And he was in a great degree as good as his word, for he was exceedingly encouraged by it upon all occasions, had recourse to that example when his reflection upon his late repentance gave him any sad thoughts.

But He leaves it as a seasonable caution for us, upon whom the like circumstance of a national visitation seems to be coming, that our preparations may not be adjourned till the judgment is upon us; for that, though it may not be ineffectual through God's mercy for any one to repent then, however late, yet that it will rob us of great comfort, make the danger a thousand times more dreadful, and fill us always with dark and discouraging thoughts, and 't will be very hard to bear up the mind under them.

He warns all men by His own example, that when preparations for death have been put off 't is so much the harder to begin them at all, and the heart once hardened by frequent delaying and putting off is not easily softened to the serious work again, and when it shall at last be brought to go about it heartily it will yet go with a heavy and afflicted mind, and those delays of repentance will be the most abhorred things, even equal to the sins that are to be repented of; that nothing is more certain than that when people put off those preparations to the last, God is often pleased in justice to deny the gift of repentance in their extremity, or, at least, for a great while, and sometimes the comfort of it to the last gasp. But this is a digression. I proceed to the story of the family before me.

These two happy penitents went on in this course

for some time. Some short discourses which happened between them, could they have been entirely preserved, might have been very useful to others; the following, however, may not be unprofitable. The brother, it being during one of their private fasts, as above, began thus: —

Brother. Sister, we are under the apprehensions of a terrible judgment, which is already begun, and increases dreadfully among us; pray, let us state between us what is our work upon that account at this time.

Sister. I believe I understand you, brother; you would have us state what we mean by preparations, for these are the things we talk much of, and others, too, when they speak of any serious things; indeed, I have often asked myself what I mean by preparations for the plague.

Brother. Well, and how did you answer your own question?

Sister. Why, I answered as I heard you mention it once to my brother, and I thought you had given a very right account of it, viz., that preparations for the plague were preparations for death, and that they ought to be understood so.

Brother. Well, but the question is much the same then, viz., what is to make preparations for death? or what preparations are proper to be made for death?

Sister. It is a hard question, brother, and requires a better head than mine to give an answer to it.

Brother. But, sister, that which is worse is that the preparations I mean are to be supposed to be made

by a man that has been a hardened, extravagant wretch, remarkable for great crimes, &c.

Sister. One that has been old in sin, and that has put off all the calls to repentance, either from conscience or from nature, from reason or from religion, from God or from man.

Brother. Ay, just as I have done, sister.

Sister. No, no, not as you have done, but as you say you have done.

Brother. Well, let that rest; what must such a one do? what must be his preparations?

Sister. The first thing, brother, I think of, is included in that Scripture, Lam. iii. 40: "Let us search and try our ways, and turn again unto the Lord."

Brother. The thing is most apt to the purpose, "search and try our ways," which, as I understand it, is self-examination in the highest extreme.

Sister. Searching, that is, a looking back upon our past life, and into every action of it; not hiding or dropping this search in any particular part that can be brought to memory; not covering any part, but searching ourselves to the bottom.

Brother. And then trying the quality of every action; bringing ourselves to the bar of our consciences, and there impartially subjecting every action of our lives to the judgment of our own reason and conscience; determining, with an unbiassed sincerity, whether such ways and such actions are justifiable at the bar of God or no.

Sister. Blessed be God, there is a bar of conscience, at which we may arraign ourselves, and where, if we

try the cause impartially, we may make a right judgment of our actions, and know in what posture we stand.

Brother. But, oh, sister, what is my case? I see beforehand what will be my case. I cannot stand before the judgment-seat of my own heart, how then shall I appear at His enlightened tribunal?

Sister. Do not say you are so, as if none were so but you; I am in the same condition, my own heart condemns me, and God is greater than our hearts. I have nothing to say but this, "Enter not into judgment with Thy servant: for in Thy sight shall no man living be justified" (Psalm cxliii. 2).

Brother. If then we bring our actions to the bar of reason and to the bar of conscience faithfully, we shall see then our state; we shall see what our condition is, and what it will be at the bar of God's judgment.

Sister. Certainly we may.

Brother. Then I must see, and do see, that at that bar I shall be condemned.

Sister. Yes, brother, and I too, and every one, for in His sight shall no man living be justified — in the state as our own actions brought to judgment will appear; but let us go back to the text again, "Let us search and try our ways." What is next?

Brother. It is so, blessed be God; "Let us search and try, and turn again to the Lord;" that is, then, our work at this time.

Sister. Dear brother, our work, in short, is self-examination and repentance; first examination, then humiliation.

Brother. It is plain, first search and try our ways, and then turn from them to the Lord; it is taken there as a conclusion that upon searching and trying our ways we shall find they will not bear a trial either at the bar of God or at the bar of conscience, therefore we are to turn from them.

Sister. That is our next work, and how is that to be done?

Brother. That brings us to the other text we had before, Joel ii. 12, 13 — it must be with all our hearts, with fasting, with weeping, and with mourning. How shall we do this, sister?

Sister. Well, brother, let us go on and see the fruit of it too; read the next verse — 13: "And rend your heart, and not your garments, and turn unto the Lord your God: for He is gracious and merciful, slow to anger, and of great kindness, and repenteth Him of the evil."

Brother. Nay, sister, go on with them, verse 14: "Who knoweth if he will return and repent, and leave a blessing behind him." Here's encouragement, sister! Let us set about this work, for "He is gracious and merciful, slow to anger, and of great kindness."

Here is one of their discourses, or at least a part, and herein may be seen something of that true work of preparation for the plague. Let none flatter themselves with less than this: they who pretend to be making preparations for the plague, that is to say, for death, any other way than by searching and trying their ways and turning to the Lord with fast-

ing, with weeping, and with mourning, that is to say, with sincere humiliation and repentance, will but mock and deceive themselves, and will find they have made no preparations at all.

I must leave this pious couple now a while as to their retreat, and take them in common in conversation with their brother and the family. The visitation came on, the plague spread dreadfully, death came like an armed man, and swept away the people like an overflowing stream.

It was now five weeks after the last discourse between the two brothers and the sister, and since the two penitents had retired themselves, that the younger brother, having been out in the city, came in again, and found his elder brother talking with his sister. And now his manner of talking was quite changed, his tale was turned, as you shall see.

1*st Brother.* Oh, brother, why will you venture to go out?

2*nd Brother.* Out, why, what can be done? we must go out for family necessaries.

1*st Brother.* We have been greatly overseen in that, not to have a store of provisions in the house, since we are obliged to stay. You know they did quite otherwise at Naples.

2*nd Brother.* That's true; but it is too late now.

1*st Brother.* It is not too late for some things, however; we might get a stock of bread and beer into the house, and you see my mother sends us every week fresh provisions from the country sufficient for us in particular.

2*nd Brother.* She does just now, but it will not be

long, no messenger or servant will dare to bring it in a little more time, for the plague increases so much, the other end of the town is a mere desolation with it; it begins to come round us. I hear 't is got over into Southwark this week; six or eight have died on that side already.

1*st Brother.* Well, what shall we resolve to do? Shall we venture to stay, or shall we lock up our doors and be gone? What say you, sister?

Sister. I am not fit to give my opinion. I see it is like to be a dreadful time; but what you resolve shall determine me; because, as I have undertaken the charge of your house, your measures make staying my duty or not my duty; so you are not to ask my opinion, but to direct me what to do?

1*st Brother.* Well, but if you were not under the obligation you speak of, child, which you may be sure we would be far from tying you to in such a case as this, what would you do then?

Sister. Why, then, I should properly belong to my mother's family, and I ought to go thither, and then to act as she should direct.

2nd Brother. But tell us what you think of doing now, child?

Sister. You may assure yourself I will do just as you do, I will live and die with you.[1]

1*st Brother.* This is all nothing; what we do we must do quickly, there 's no time for long consultations. If we intend to go away it must be speedily,

[1] This she meant for her second brother in particular, because of the work they were engaged in together.

or nobody will receive us; nay, we may carry the plague with us, and do ourselves more hurt than good.

2nd Brother. Nay, all the world almost that have anywhere to go are gone already. But have you thought of any place where to go?

1st Brother. No, not I.

Sister. Why, brother, have you made no provision at all for the time of distress?

1st Brother. No, not I, soul nor body. [*At this word he fetched a great sigh, for he spoke it in a kind of secret passion, and broke out into tears after it; but when the agony was a little over he went on.*] Indeed, sister, you have been in the right all along, and my mother too. I have put this evil day off, and flattered myself it would go off. I have seen such things frequently in Italy, and after the first frights the distemper has vanished again. I was indeed alarmed when I came to you there in April, but I found there were some people who, I thought, made worse of it than they need to do, and I dropped all concern about it, nor have I suffered any impressions to be made upon me since.

Sister. I took it otherwise, brother, and I always thought it was another way: that you were fortified by your extraordinary experiences of God's goodness and your faith in Him, and that, I knew, was a good and justifiable foundation for you to be easy and settled in your mind on.

1st Brother. No, no, I am quite unprepared; and that with this aggravation, that I have neglected and slighted all the warnings of its approach; and now it comes on like an overflowing flood, nothing can stand

in its way; we shall see the city in a very little time more a mere general grave for all its inhabitants.

2nd Brother. Not all, I hope, brother.

1st Brother. Truly, I believe there will few remain of those that stay here; they that fly in time may indeed be preserved.

2nd Brother. Well, brother, we are all to be directed by you. What shall we do?

1st Brother. Do! I have nothing to say to you but this, do not follow my dreadful example to put off my repentance and preparation upon a wild presumption of escaping the danger, or, indeed, of its being more favourable than it is like to be; lose not an hour, not a moment. I have lost all my time, and now Heaven is just! I not only have no time for it, but I have no temper for it; when the danger is at the door there 's no beginning the work, 't is too late then.

2nd Brother. Compose your mind, brother, and look up to Heaven for direction; and if you think of going anywhere for your safety into the country, my sister and I will remain here to look to the house and preserve things.

1st Brother. No, brother, I won't go away for my own safety and leave you exposed to the danger.

2nd Brother. I hope it may please God to preserve us, but, if not, we are in the way of our duty, and may with the more cheerfulness cast ourselves into His arms.

1st Brother. You talk very different, brother, from your discourse a few months ago.

2nd Brother. I have had a long experience of

things since that, and particularly of the right He has to dispose of me, and all that belongs to me; it is my part to submit, 't is His part to do whatever He pleases.

1*st Brother.* I want such a spirit, brother. How did you get it?

2*nd Brother.* There 's the dear instructor, she has been the healing angel. [*Pointing to his sister, who, he said, had been the cause of all the serious things he had done during the whole time.*]

Sister. I entreat you, brother, do not discourage yourself so. I have been capable of nothing, and have done nothing, neither can any of us do anything.

1*st Brother.* Well, you came in, brother, since I did, what did you hear of the main thing? What condition are we in?

2*nd Brother.* Worse and worse, the plague advances this way still in a most surprising manner.

1*st Brother.* Well, what shall we do?

2*nd Brother.* I scarce know what.

1*st Brother.* In short, there 's nobody left in the city hardly but in by-places, and where people either have had no time to go, as has been our case, or resolve to stay.

2*nd Brother.* Let us see a little farther, brother; there are but very few dead in the city yet — I think not above fifty or sixty in all.

This discourse being ended, the second brother and sister began to consider that it would be their lot to stay in the city; but being very anxious for their

elder brother, they resolved to persuade him to go away, chiefly with respect to the confusion which they found he was in about his eternal state. In the meantime, as they kept up their daily conferences and fasts as before, they were every day more and more encouraged and comforted, being fully given up to the disposing will of Heaven, let it be which way it would, whether for life or death.

But to bring them to this gradually, we must go back to another of their discourses upon this subject in one of their retirements; the brother began the conference upon the subject of the last discourse thus: —

"Dear sister, I thought we brought our last discourse to a very happy point, viz., that after self-examination, searching, and trying our ways, we should turn to the Lord. I have had some difficulties with myself upon this work of turning to God; we resolved it at our last meeting into repentance, and I think that is plain in the text we were upon, 'Turn with fasting and weeping and mourning.' This I take to be repentance; but is there nothing to do beside? Alas, we may weep and mourn, but as that can make no compensation for our sin, we must look farther."

Sister. It is very true, there is more to be done, but the Scripture is full and plain even in that, for the word, "turn to the Lord," implies, in my judgment, flying to Him for pardon. It is true that the manner of applying to God for pardon of our sins is not expressed in the prophecy of Joel, because they were then under the Old Testament dispensation.

Brother. That is what my thoughts resolved it into. Now, sister, I bring it to the New Testament, and I was directed, I hope, to that Scripture (Acts xvi. 30), where the jailor says, "Sirs, what must I do to be saved?" The very words were upon my mind before the particular Scripture occurred to my thoughts. What is my next work? What must I do to be saved? And the answer is directed (verse 31): "And they said, Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved, and thy house."

Sister. It is most certain, brother, that to our repentance, which we have been called to by that text which we discoursed of last, must be joined the gospel direction of believing on the Lord Jesus Christ, and that is the next work for us to examine ourselves about.

Brother. It is plain, sister, from another text (xx. 21): "Repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ."

Sister. Dear brother, if we have but these, we have finished our preparations.

Brother. Then we may say, "Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly."

Sister. The next question, then, is to be assured in these two points.

Brother. Dear sister, I have nothing for it but the example of the man in the Gospel (Mark ix. 24): "Lord, I believe; help Thou mine unbelief." And this is the full exercise of my soul; this is what I desire to dedicate the whole remainder of my time to, be it little or much, to obtain a settled dependence upon the merits and purchase of Christ the blessed Saviour of the world.

Sister. There's no other comfortable hope, no other rock, no anchor for the soul but this: He is the hope of His people, and their Saviour in the time of trouble. This is a time of trouble; let us not be anxious whether we are spared or not in this time of trouble; that faith which has carried others through the fire and through the water, will carry us through the fire of a disease. What is it to die by this infectious fever, or, being spared a few years more, be carried away by another, or by any grievous distemper?

Brother. The difference is nothing if it be not in things beyond the grave, for the difference of the time here is so little that it is not worth naming, at least when we come into that state we shall esteem it nothing.

Sister. Let us, then, neither wish or fear in the present desolation, but be entirely resigned, giving up ourselves to Him who has said, He careth for us, and has bid us be careful for nothing; this will be a comfortable state.

Brother. Dear sister, I have been debating long with myself about the comfort of our faith, and about a comfortable dependence. And I have been long questioning whether ever I may arrive to the comfort of it or no, whether the joy and peace of believing may ever be my lot; and I have some reason to believe it will not.

Sister. I hope for you that it may; pray do not foreclose yourself.

Brother. I have such a weight upon me of a long series of folly and wickedness, that the more I search

and try my ways, the more I see reason to turn to the Lord with weeping and with mourning. And I believe I shall go so to my grave.

Sister. It may be so; but let me add to you, that it does not follow but you may go to heaven, and then all those tears shall be wiped away from your eyes.

Brother. I have sometimes brought it to this, and blessed be God for it, that though repentance and faith be absolutely necessary to our salvation, yet comfort and assurance is not, and then I remember the words of Job, "Though He slay me, yet will I trust in Him."

Sister. This faith is as effectual, though not so comfortable, as the other. This is my case; I know He is able to help and to save to the uttermost, and I desire to lie at His feet and say, as the apostles, "Whither else shall we go?"

Brother. If my faith will support itself thus far, that I can lie down and die at His feet, I will not say 't is all I can desire, but I do say 't is all I can expect; and 't is just with Him if He should deny me even that.

Sister. We cannot promise or propose to ourselves what we shall do when we come to the extremity. Dear brother, this is such a time of trial as we never had before, nor older people than we are. It pleases God we are yet alive; but death is at the door, and we have reason to expect it every moment, and that a terrible death too. Nothing can stand us instead, but an entire dependence upon infinite mercy, through the merits of Jesus Christ.

Brother. I propose nothing to myself but to depend

upon Him, and to look to Him for life; for He is the author of eternal salvation to all that believe on Him. I desire to believe in Him and rest on Him. And this is all my preparations for this dreadful time.

Sister. I know no other preparation, and I trust that this preparation will carry us through whatever it shall please God to suffer us to meet with in this dreadful time that is upon us.

For some time both before and after this discourse, the plague violently increasing, their elder brother had been very pressing with them to leave the town and shift all for themselves; but these two well-prepared souls seemed to receive that part of his proposal coldly, and began to look upon themselves as determined for stay, seeing their brother, whose motions they had resolved at first to be guided by, as the head of the family, had not talked of going away till it was almost impracticable to be done. They had made no provision either for leaving the house and family in trust with anybody, or securing what in such cases might be and was fit to be secured. They had provided no country, being, or place to retreat to; the elder brother, indeed, had a house of his own, and an estate with it, as far off as Cheshire. But it was not possible to carry anything of goods or necessaries so far, especially after they had let it alone so to the last; the ordinary carriers ceased going for some time, and, besides all, there was no passing the roads, the towns were all guarded, the passages stopped. And though they had gotten certificates of health from the Lord Mayor, the city began now to be so infected, that nobody would

receive them, no inn would lodge them on the way. And these things had made their moving next to impracticable, so, I say, the second brother and his sister concluded they were to stay.

They were, as above, come to a happy and steady calm of mind with respect to the danger of death; besides their private retirement, they went together twice every day, to commit their souls in a more solemn manner into the hands of God. Hitherto the infection had not only been kept out of their house, but out of their neighbourhood; nobody had died or been infected, as they had heard of, in any part of the street where they lived; but as it was now the latter end of July, the city seemed like a place invested and besieged, for though the plague was not so violent within the walls as without, yet it was more or less in most parts of the city.

They had for some time left off to bury the dead in the usual forms, and in the outparts especially, carts were appointed to go through the streets between the hours of twelve and three in the night with a bellman crying, "Bring out your dead!"

It was not till the first week in August that this dreadful sound was heard within the walls; and at first it was principally in those parishes which were next the city walls, on the side of Cripplegate and Bishopsgate; and that week there died of all diseases above 4000.

Their elder brother came in the week before this, in a very great concern, having been at the Custom House or that way, where he had some warehouses of goods, and had met with some frightful things in his way, and

finding his brother and sister together, he breaks out in a tone rather of horror than anger.

"Well, brother," says he, "my sister and you may do what you please, but, in short, I can stand it no longer."

2nd Brother. My sister, and I too, are willing to do whatever you direct, brother; but it has been left among us as a thing undetermined so long that I do not see how it can be done now.

Sister. There may be as much danger, brother, in going as in staying; for I believe you have not yet resolved whither to go.

1st Brother. It is true, I have not; I have done by my family as I have done by my soul — let it lie without any concern about it till it is too late.

Sister. I beseech you do not say so; your family indeed may find it too late to stir, but, blessed be the Lord, your soul is in better hands.

1st Brother. I scarce know what hands I am in, I am at my wits' end; I'll take my horse and go to Cheshire.

Sister. That is giving us your order to stay where we are, for you know we cannot travel so far as circumstances now stand, unless we should resolve to lie in the fields and starve, for nobody would take us in.

1st Brother. Why not? you may have certificates of health from the Lord Mayor.

2nd Brother. You have seen accounts, brother, of several families that have been put to all manner of distress upon the roads on this very account; and some are come back again to London, choosing to meet the worst in their own houses, rather than to

wander in the fields and roads, where nobody will let them in, or come near them, or let them pass from place to place.

1*st Brother.* I know not what to do, I must go somewhere. I am not able to stay here, my very blood runs cold in my veins at what I have met with to-day.

Sister. Why will you go out into the streets, brother?

1*st Brother.* Nay, I do not think to go any more, till I go away for good and all.

2*nd Brother.* Hitherto, brother, we have been kept; who knows but it may please God to spare us? Let us keep within doors.

1*st Brother.* How shall we get provisions? My mother's servant that furnishes us now said the last time he came that he was frighted as he came through the Borough, and that he should be afraid to come much oftener.

While they were under these debates, for it held them three or four days, there came a captain of a ship up to the house, whose ship they (the two brothers) were owners of, and had fitted out for a voyage to Genoa and Messina, where their chief dealing lay, and where, it seems, they had lived.

They were upon one of these discourses, it seems, when this captain came into the counting-house for some despatches which he wanted, where he found his chief merchant under great perplexity about the increases of the plague, and he began himself to tell him that he wondered he had not removed his family all this while; upon which the following discourse

began between those two only, for the second brother was gone upstairs with his sister.

Capt. Sir, I perceive you are in some perplexity about your family in this dreadful time.

Mer. Indeed, captain, so I am. My brother and sister too, who are our governors, would have had me left them, have removed into the country two months ago, but I laughed at them and slighted it; but now I must own that I wish with all my heart I had done it.

Capt. I warrant you told them how you used to do abroad, where they make light of such things, they are so frequent.

Mer. So I did indeed, and told my brother, I thought he had known better that had lived at Naples, where, they say, there died 20,000 in one day, though, by the way, it was not true.

Capt. But pray, sir, why do you not go away still? This side of the city and the Rotherhithe side of the river is pretty clear yet, you may all go away that way.

Mer. You mistake the case extremely, captain. We may go out of the town several ways still, but there 's no stirring anywhere when we are out; there 's not a town upon the road will suffer anybody to pass that comes from London, so that it is impossible to travel, we must e'en stay all and die here; I see no remedy. [*Here the captain mused a while and said nothing, which made the merchant go on.*] What makes you seem surprised at that, captain? It cannot be wondered at, nor can we blame the people, for who would venture to lodge a family from London?

I mean, what inn would venture it, and have the plague brought among them?

Capt. I was not surprised at that at all, indeed I was not thinking of it; I was at first surprised to think you, sir, that had so much knowledge of these things, should not have made preparations for your family's retreat a great while before it came, for you have had notice that it was coming on above these six months.

Mer. Oh, captain, wonder no more; we have done by the family as we do by our souls, put off the apprehensions, and that puts off the preparations, and now it is upon us, we are all in confusion.

Capt. Well, but that was not what I paused at. I have a proposal in my thoughts that you may, if you please, with God's blessing, convey your family out of the city still, and that to such a distance as you may at least hope to be safe, and you shall meet with no stops upon the road at all, though you travel a great way.

Mer.[1] We will be all greatly obliged to you for such a proposal. Nothing can be more acceptable at a time of such extremity, for we look upon ourselves as all dead bodies.

Capt. I have but one question to ask by way of caution, but if that cannot be answered I can do nothing.

Mer. I believe I can guess at that question, the nature of the thing guides to it, viz., whether we have not the distemper already among us?

[1] The gentleman was exceedingly pleased with the kindness of the proposal.

Capt. That is the question indeed, for if that could not be answered, you know nobody could expect to be assisted, neither could anybody assist them, for they would carry death with them wherever they should go.

Mer. Well, you may be assured upon it that we are all of us, blessed be God, servants and all, as free from the infection or from any distemper at present as ever we were in our lives.

Capt. Why, then, sir, the short of the story is this, have not I a ship here in the river? and is she not your own? except a sixteenth, which I have by your friendship, and one-sixteenth my brother, who will consent to whatever will be for your service. Here we have victuals for her for four months for twenty-two men, and have put her upon the Exchange for Genoa, Naples, and Messina; but we have taken in no goods, but some hogsheads of sugar for your own account, and about fifty fodder of lead for ballast, also of your own. Will anybody ship off anything, for all trade is at a stand? Besides, 't is no purpose to go to sea, for no nation in Europe will give us product, or let us so much as come to an anchor in any of their ports.

Mer. You put a new thought into my head, I confess. Why, captain, would you take us on board?

Capt. Will I take you on board? Is she not your own ship? Is she not fitted out at your expense? You may, and have a right to, command her and turn me ashore if you think fit.

Mer. Well, but are you willing to take us in?

Capt. How can you ask that question, sir? Why else do I make that proposal?

Mer. Where does your ship lie now?

Capt. She did lie, sir, at Rotherhithe, in that they call Cherry Garden Hole; but you know you ordered me to fall down to Deptford, and there we ride ready to fall down lower if we see occasion.

Mer. And have you room for us all?

Capt. Sir, we will make room for you as convenient as if it were in your own house.

Mer. Sit down again, captain. Come, I 'll propose it to my brother and sister, and hear what they say to it, for I confess your offer comes to me as if it came from Heaven. 'T is as if it was a voice from above, a message to save us all from the most dreadful condition that ever family was in. I wonder I should never think of it before.

Upon this he called his brother and sister, and gave them an account of the captain's proposal, and of his own opinion on it. They both said the same, that it seemed to be a merciful dispensation of Providence for the deliverance of the whole family, and the second brother and sister received it with acknowledgments suitable to their opinion as such.

In short, the merchant and the captain immediately entered into measures for the putting it into execution; and to this purpose he caused beds and bedding, linen of all sorts, with all kinds of kitchen furniture, and all family necessaries, to be packed up in cases and boxes and bales, as if for the use of passengers, with all their plate and things of value, and had it fetched away by the ship's long-boat, and another boat which they borrowed, for three days together, not suffering the ship's men or any of them

to come on shore, but had it all put on board by his own servants. At the same time the merchant caused the ship's bills, which were hung up on the Exchange, intimating she was ready to take in goods for Italy, to be taken down, though, if he had not, there was no great forwardness in any merchants to ship any goods at that time.

All these three days the captain took to lay in a larger store of provisions, and particularly of fresh provisions; and first he dismissed all the men he had hired for the voyage, except those who were already actually on board, who were his chief mate, boatswain, carpenter, and six seamen or foremast men; and these he forbid to set their feet on shore or on board any other ship, on pain of being turned off.

The history of this embarkation, though not material to the subject in hand, I mean as to the religious preparations for the plague, I yet cannot think proper to omit, because it may be a direction for others to take the same happy measures in the like danger, and perhaps with as good success, for this, as you will hear, succeeded very well.

The captain was a good agent victualler. He laid in a double quantity of biscuit, meal, beer, beef, peas, fish, and everything useful in furnishing a ship for a voyage; but that was not all: he put on board a quantity of hay, and bought two cows, making a platform for them in the hold, which had vacancy enough. He bought a great quantity of fowls, and twelve pigs and the like; and, in short, made provision to a profusion; and this he did with such expedition that everything was on board before them.

The ship was now fully ready for them to go on board, and the boat was ordered to come up to Tower Wharf, to take in the family as on the Wednesday, when on the Sabbath day, in the afternoon, their sister was taken very ill, which put them all into a terrible fright. She continued exceeding ill, and particularly vomited violently all Monday, and they made no doubt but it was the plague.

She carried it with an extraordinary composure of mind, meekly committing herself into the hands of Him on whose mercy she had so long depended; in a word, she showed eminently the difference between a mind solemnly prepared for death, and which in earnest had long expected it, and a thoughtless, negligent one, who had put the evil day far from him.

However, as her distemper was not the plague, she soon began to mend, her vomiting abated, and she recovered strength; but I mention it to observe the condition of her elder brother upon this occasion. Now, and not till now, he was thoroughly alarmed; he was frighted and terrified before with the danger he was in, but now he looked upon it that God had struck his family, and that they should all die of the plague very quickly.

He got no sleep that night, when in the middle of the night, between twelve and one o'clock, he heard for the first time that dismal cry, "Bring out your dead!" the cart beginning to go through the street where he lived, being the parish of St. Margaret Pattens, that very night. The noise of the bell, the doleful cry of the bellman, and the rumbling of the cart-wheels, you may suppose joined together to pre-

sent to his mind the most frightful ideas, especially increased by the apprehensions that the plague was already in his house, and that his own sister might perhaps be to be fetched out by the cart and the bearers the next night or two at farthest.

He got up and went to his brother's chamber, thinking to awaken him and to sit down by his bedside, but was surprised to find nobody in the room, and that the bed was not unmade; in short, his brother was up praying with his sister, and though he believed she had the plague upon her, yet he would not leave her or stir from her but as necessity obliged him, but sat by her comforting and supporting her mind, with the fruit of their former experiences, and reading comforting Scriptures to her. Thus, I say, they were spending the night, when the elder brother calling his brother by name, the servant that attended told him, and he went out to him, and their short and confused discourse was to this purpose: —

1*st Brother.* Oh, brother, we are all dead corpses! There 's a cart gone by that must fetch us all away.

2*nd Brother.* What, is the dead-cart [*so it was generally called*] come into our lane?

1*st Brother.* Ay, ay, I hear the bellman's dismal cry.

2*nd Brother.* Well, God's will be done with us, let us settle our minds on Him. "He shall not be afraid of evil tidings whose heart is fixed, trusting in the Lord."

1*st Brother.* How can you go into my sister's chamber? You will get the distemper to be sure. Nay, have you not got it already?

2nd Brother. I cannot tell how I may fare as to that, it shall be as God please; but I will not leave her while she has life and sense in her; she has been my soul's comforter, and I will never cease comforting her as long as I am able.

1st Brother. Why, you are strangely altered, and comforted indeed, to what you were when you came into the counting-house to me, and was for running away to France.

2nd Brother. Blessed be God, I am altered, and blessed be that dear messenger of God that is now languishing and just entering joyfully into heaven. She has been a thousand times dearer than a sister to me, she has been an angel of God to me. Oh, that I was in her condition as to the soul, though I were in her condition as to the infection too; as to the last, that is the particular hand of God, and it is our duty to submit; blessed be God 't is no token of His displeasure.

1st Brother. How, brother, is it no mark of God's displeasure? I think it is a sore and heavy judgment, and a token of God's vengeance upon the land.

2nd Brother. It is a national judgment, no doubt, and calls for national humiliation; but I do not think it must always be called a token of God's vindictive hand to any particular person, for then nobody could have any hope of being at peace with God that had the distemper, and there 's our dear sister, bad as she is, she has a triumphant joy possesses her whole soul in the blessed assurance of her salvation.

1st Brother. I am glad to hear it, but I am very apt to question those who boast of their assur-

ance of heaven; I think they very often prove hypocrites.

2nd Brother. She is too near heaven to be a counterfeit, brother; besides, she is the humblest, most melted penitent that ever you heard of; the sense of God's pardoning mercy has melted her very soul into penitential tears, and those tears have filled her with joy.

1st Brother. You talk upon contraries, you are all mysterious.

2nd Brother. You may call it mysterious if you will, but 't is a blessed truth, though 't is a mysterious thing to those that understand it not. No repentance, no humility, no tears like those that are raised by any humble sense of infinite, undeserved, forgiving grace; and no joy, no satisfaction of the soul, no rejoicing, nay, triumph of soul, like the joy that is founded in sorrow, founded in repentance.

1st Brother. And is my sister come that length? These are sublime things indeed. [*Here he stopped a while, as in some little confusion, and then went on.*] Oh, brother! what have I been doing? I am undone, what shall I do?

2nd Brother. I see, brother, it has pleased God to visit the family; I hope you will be preserved. I beg of you take boat and go immediately on board the ship; take such servants as you think fit, and your little children, and go away, for you will but finish the ruin of the family if you stay, for if you should be struck they are all undone.

1st Brother. I cannot go without you, brother; if you will go with me I will go.

2nd Brother. Do not ask me, I cannot leave her; no, I 'll live and die with her. I am sure if I had been the first, she would not have left me; besides, brother, it may not be safe for you to have me go, for, to be sure, I have the seeds of the distemper about me by this time.

He had with much ado prevailed on his brother to resolve upon going the next morning, and not to stay for the ship's boat, which was to come for them two days after. When offering to go into his sister's chamber again, the servants met him softly at the door, and told him she was fallen into a sleep, with a little sweat; upon which he retired into his own chamber again. He waited four or five hours, and still his sister slept most sweetly; upon which he lay down upon his own bed in his clothes, and slept several hours more, and still his sister was not waked.

In a word, she slept till near nine o'clock the next morning, when she waked wonderfully refreshed, her distemper quite abated, the fever gone; and, in a word, it appeared that she had not the least symptoms of the infection upon her, to the inexpressible joy of the whole family.

On the day appointed the boat came up, and the eldest brother, with his two children and one maid-servant and a man-servant, went on foot through the street to Galley Quay, where, it being high water, the boat came close to the shore, and they went all away.

The next day, the boat being ordered up again, the second brother, the sister, and another maid-servant, with an ancient woman that was formerly the sister's nurse, went all off in the same manner.

When they were all safe on board, the captain asked their leave to bring his own wife and one child, a little boy of five years old, and a maid to be with him also, which they all agreed willingly to; and thus they were all embarked together; this being the first week in August, by which time the burials in the city and suburbs amounted to no less than 4030 in all, of which of the plague 2817.

They left the house fastened up with no soul in it; but left the care of guarding it to the ordinary watch by night, and two poor men, who by turns kept the outer door by day, took in letters, and any such business as in that time of a cessation of all business might happen; these were particularly directed to take in the weekly bill of mortality, which, with all foreign letters, they ordered to be sent weekly to a house at Greenwich, and gave orders at Greenwich to have them brought to the ship's side, after they had been perfumed and sprinkled with vinegar, and then scorched at the fire, as was then the usage.

The ship, as I observed, lay at an anchor a little above Deptford, where they continued about a fortnight longer; but finding by that time the dreadful increase of the plague, and that it came on eastward from the other end of the town, by the north side of the city, into the parishes of Aldgate, Whitechapel, and Stepney, and particularly began to rage in Wapping, and Ratcliff, and even down to Blackwall; also, that some had died of it in Rotherhithe, and in Deptford, they found they should be, as it were, surrounded; so the captain, at their request, weighed and fell down the river, to a place between Blackwall

and Woolwich which they call Bugby's Hole, being a secure place for ships to ride in.

The vessel they were in was a ship of force carrying sixteen guns, but could carry twenty-four; so they lived at large and had room enough. The merchant and his family had the great cabin and steerage to themselves, with some cabins built on purpose for his maid-servants and children in the gun-room; an apartment was built up out of the great cabin for his sister, and her nurse and maid and himself and his brother had each of them a large cabin built in the steerage, so the rest of the great cabin was their dining-room. The captain had the round-house and the little room before it, which they call the cuddy, for his family, and the quarter-deck was their parade or walking place, over which the captain had caused an awning to be built, and covered it so close, both top and sides, that it was like a great hall.

They soon found reason also to remove the place appointed for their letters, and ordered them to Woolwich, both the towns of Deptford and Greenwich being sorely visited.

Here they rode with great satisfaction for all the rest of the month of August, when they received the last weekly bill for the said month of August, which amounted to no less than 7496, a frightful number indeed, and which was still dreadfully increasing, almost 2000 that very week, not reckoning such as died in the towns of Deptford and Greenwich.

This put the merchant upon a new proposal to the captain, which was to go quite away to sea; for he was now in such a dreadful consternation on several

accounts, that he was altogether as uneasy as he was before he left his house in London.

While they thus lay in Bugby's Hole, the captain and the merchant's second brother, with their boat, had ventured down to Woolwich, that is to say, to the upper end of the town, but did not go on shore, neither were the people of the town at first willing to let them come on shore, not knowing whence they came, or how they fared on board; and they were the more wary because, besides the town of Greenwich, the plague was raging at Blackwall, also in all that part of the country which contained several villages, all in Stepney and Bromley parishes, such as Blackwall, Poplar, Limehouse, Bow, Old Ford, Bethnal Green, Bromley, Mile End; in the former of which parishes, viz., Stepney, including Whitechapel, there died 1026 people that very week, and the next week 1327.

However, they answered their end at Woolwich, which was first to learn that the town was not yet infected, except two houses at a little distance towards Greenwich, where three or four had died; that the market was yet pretty well furnished with provisions; so they got a good woman of the town to buy such provisions for them as they had occasion for, such as fresh butter, some eggs, and a great quantity of garden stuff, such as the season afforded, with apples in abundance; all which was a great relief to them, having been more tied down to salt meats than agreed with them, being so differing from their usual way of living; they got also fresh meat, as veal and pork, and, in a word, were very well stored with refreshments.

But by the next market day the plague was so far got into the town that the country-people came but very thin to the market, by which the quantity of provisions was lessened, and not to be easily had; nor did the merchant care to venture the boat on shore any more.

Then the captain made a little voyage in his boat to Barking Creek, intending to go up the said Creek to Barking Market; but was informed by some of the fishermen's smacks which lay at the mouth of the Creek, that the plague was there also; whether true or not they did not stay to inquire, but came back.

When they found this the merchant grew impatient, and, in short, would lie there no longer, so they weighed and went down the river to a place called Greenhithe; but there being no market there, nor any great store of provisions, and the captain thinking their riding there not so safe as lower down, considering how few hands they had on board, he proposed going as low as Gravesend, where, if it happened to over-blow, they might get some men from the shore.

While they were considering this, they called with a speaking-trumpet to the shore for a boat to come on board; accordingly a boat came off, but they would not let them come on board till they had inquired whether the plague was in the town, nor would the fellows come on board till they inquired whence the ship came last; but afterwards, the men in the boat assuring them that the town was in perfect health, and the captain assuring the town boat that they came from Bugby's Hole only, where they had ridden

three weeks, that they were all in perfect health, and came down lower because they heard that the plague was at Blackwall and Woolwich, — I say, after this they became better acquainted.

Here also they had news that the plague was at Gravesend, and, as the people said, at Chatham and Rochester; but, it seems, as they were afterwards informed, that news was not true, only that a rumour had spread over the country to that purpose a great while before it was so. However, this altered their resolutions, and they continued for the present where they were. Though this was no market town, yet they got some fresh provisions, and particularly sent a countryman with a little cart and two horses to Dartford, a market town about three miles up the country, and which at that time was free from the infection, and there they stored themselves again fully.

But the merchant was still uneasy, for he could not bear to lie anywhere with the ship if the plague was at any town beyond him; so he made the captain remove the ship again and fall down to Gravesend, and passing the town he came to an anchor below a place which is since called the New Tavern, being as far as the Custom officers would let him pass without clearing.

Here they were told that the town of Gravesend was perfectly clear of the plague; but as they had been told otherwise at Greenwich, he would not suffer the boat to stir on shore or call any boat to come off to them, but made shift with such provisions as they had.

While they rode here they suffered a violent storm

of wind, in which they were in some danger of driving from their anchors and going on shore; and though there was no doubt of saving their lives, yet it put them in a very great fright lest they should be forced from this little sanctuary (the ship) where they had been hitherto so comfortably sheltered.

However, as they rode out the storm with safety, and got over the danger, the captain told his merchant seriously that he thought it was not safe to ride so low with so few hands; that if he was willing to let him go on shore and get three or four good seamen, which he believed might easily be done, he would then clear the ship at the Fort, and fall down into the Hope, or go to the buoy on the Nore, where he thought they might ride as safe as where they did; but, if not, that then it would be a better way to go up to the upper end of Long Reach and ride there, where he believed there lay five or six ships in the same circumstances, and on the same account with themselves.

The merchant was utterly against going on shore at Gravesend, but especially against taking any more seamen on board; but would have had the captain have stood away for Harwich; but upon second thoughts, as it had been said that the plague came over first from Holland, so to go to Harwich would be just to go in the way of it, the packet boats continuing to go and come between that place and Holland; and they did not know but that Harwich might be infected, and then they were left to the wide world.

In short, they agreed at last to come up the river again, not to Greenhithe, where they lay before, but

to the upper part of that which they call Long Reach, which is about three miles nearer London than Greenhithe. Here they had very good riding, and safe, though sometimes blustering, weather. Here lay six other vessels, four above them, and two below them, and though they did not go on board one another, yet they soon became acquainted with one another, and conversed with one another upon the particular circumstances of each ship, and the public state of things also; and they found presently that they were all outward-bound ships, but had not their loading fully in; that they were, as it were, embargoed by the general calamity; that the captains had all their families on board, and most of them had other families on board also; and that they had fallen down there for safety from the plague; and it was to their particular satisfaction that they understood they were all very healthy so far, and that there had not the least appearance of illness been among them.

They had not lain here above three days, but the headmost ship, that which lay at the upper end of the Reach, made a signal to the rest, which this ship did not understand. He found that the rest answered it, and he was going to call to the next ship to know the meaning of it, when the headmost ship's boat came off with the ship's mate on board, and, lying upon their oars, they hailed the captain, who answering, the mate told him his captain ordered him to acquaint them that the next day was the day that the six ships had appointed, ever since they rode there in company, to keep as a weekly fast on the

present sad occasion, in order to beg to God to preserve them from the pestilence, and that they should be glad these would please join with them in it.

Our captain answered in the name of himself and all that were on board his vessel, that they would join in it with all their hearts, and returned thanks to the captain of the first ship for communicating it to him, desiring to know the time they begun and ended. The officer in the boat told them that they begun at eight o'clock, and resolved not to eat or drink till six in the evening. Accordingly they kept a most religious day of fasting and humiliation on board this ship; but having no minister on board, they made it an act of private devotion only, except we shall call it family devotion. The captain and his family kept themselves retired the whole time within the roundhouse, &c., and not one of them was seen all the day.

Our family, of which we are particularly treating, and therefore can call them so, did the like; but the elder brother was still so confused in his thoughts, and had such a reserved melancholy upon him all the time, that he could do little more than read a sermon or two out of a book to his servants, and then retired himself into his particular cabin, where he spent his time as well as he could, but, as he afterwards said, very uncomfortably to himself.

The second brother and the sister joined together in the private devotion of that day, and spent it as they used to do their usual fasts, namely, in reading the Scriptures and private comforting one another,

and endeavouring to give themselves up to the disposing of God's good providence, and in praying with one another, of which more by-and-by.

About three days after this, which was the 6th of September 1665, they received the weekly bill of mortality, being from the 29th of August to the 5th of September, in which the number of dead was 8252 for one week only, whereof of the plague and spotted fever 7145. This was a frightful account, and particularly to them; because the gross of the numbers were in the eastern part of the city and in Southwark side, where at first they had been longest without the infection; and, in short, that it seemed to draw apace towards them.

This filled them all with heaviness, and as by the help of speaking-trumpets they now conversed freely with all the other ships, and all those ships with one another, the merchant, whose mind was still uneasy, caused the captain to call with his trumpet to the rest of the ships, and to desire that the captains of all the ships ahead would come to their round-house windows, and that the captains of the two ships astern would come to the forecastle of their ships, for he had something to propose to them for the common good of them all.

Accordingly they came, and the captain in the name of his chief owner, who was on board, told them how dreadfully the plague was increased, and how the weight of it was all at the east part of the town, and particularly that the towns of Greenwich, Woolwich, Blackwall, West Ham, and Barking were all infected, besides other towns on both sides of them which they

had had no account of; that, in short, they should be surrounded with it on every side, and should not be able to get provisions on shore without danger of being infected; and that since they were all, blessed be God, in perfect health at present, and while they had sufficient provisions on board, his advice was, that they should join all together, and by consent put out to sea, and sail to such other port in England, or, if need were, in Ireland, where they might be furnished with provisions and ride with safety. That his merchant assured them he would stand by them and assist them if they would agree together to stand by one another; and that as they were seven sail of ships in company all of good force, they should be able to force the people wherever they should come to furnish them with provisions for their money, or to go on shore and dwell at large, as they found convenient, till this terrible judgment should be overpast.

The captains unanimously agreed that it was a very good proposal, and two of them gave a full and free consent immediately; they two having authority enough in themselves, and having none of their owners' families on board, or that, if they had, they heard the offer and consented to it. The other captains answered that they had every one of them several families of their owners and merchants on board, and they would consult with them, and give their answer.

Accordingly, having called their said owners together, and advised about it, some of them agreed to it, and others seemed rather not to be resolute enough than to differ from it, the women being afraid

of the sea at that time of the year; however, their debates took up a great deal of time, so that it was never fully agreed to.

In this interval the dreadful height which the plague was come to may be judged of in the following particulars for three weeks only.

Buried in all London and the parts adjacent, within the bills of mortality: —

From 29th August to 5th September	8252
From 5th September to 12th	7690
From 12th to 19th	8297
Total	24,239

And to show how the principal weight of the infection lay at the eastern and southern parts of the city, the following accounts of the burials for the same three weeks in those parts will make it out: —

From 29th August to 5th September in the parishes of Aldgate, Whitechapel, and Stepney .	1770
From 5th September to 12th	1754
From 12th September to 19th	1671
Total	5395

In Southwark side: —

From 29th August to 5th September	1374
From 5th September to 12th	1511
From 12th September to 19th	1631
Total	4516

At the same time, within the walls of the city the distemper was most violent too, for notwithstanding the great number of people which were removed from thence, which was judged to be five times as

many, in proportion to the numbers of people, as in the outparts, and though in the beginning of August there died more than twice as many in Cripplegate parish only as died in the whole city, viz., from the 1st of August to the 8th —

Buried in Cripplegate parish	691
Buried in the ninety-seven parishes within the city walls	341

on the contrary, in the three weeks above named, the numbers buried within the walls of the city were as follows: —

From 29th August to 5th September	1118
From 5th to the 12th	1154
From 12th to the 19th	1493
Total	3765

Thus that dreadful affair stood at that time, and these three dismal weeks were worn out in consultations and unsteady resolutions, the poor ladies being both afraid to stay and afraid to go away. At length, the 29th of September (Michaelmas Day), they were surprised in the morning early to hear the headmost ship fire five guns, and, looking out, they found she had spread her ancient and pendants, and all looked with a face of joy; this being, indeed, so unusual at a time of distress, they began to call to one another with their speaking-trumpets, to know what the occasion of it was, when they saw a boat come off from the headmost ship to give them an account of things.

Accordingly the boat came on to every ship, and, at a distance, calling to them one by one, as they

rowed by, told them that their captain had received the bill of mortality for the last week, and two letters, with an account that the plague was abated in an extraordinary manner, and that the number of burials was decreased near two thousand.

This was matter of joy sufficient, indeed, to them all, and they all fired their guns, and drank to one another's health, as well as they could at a distance; and, in hopes the distemper would go on to abate, they laid aside their thoughts of going all to sea, as they had intended to do.

Nor did their hopes of the gradual abatement of the distemper disappoint them, for the next week after that the bills decreased 740, and the next 652, and the third week 1849, so that the numbers of burials between the 19th of September and the 17th of October were decreased from 8297 to 3219, and from four parishes being clear of the plague to sixteen parishes; and the very next week after it decreased 1413 more, and twenty-six parishes were entirely clear of infection in the city only.

Any one will conclude that from this happy decrease they were greatly encouraged, and indeed they had reason, for notwithstanding the care they had taken, and the happy, retired condition they were in, even, as it were, separated from all mankind, yet it was a very dismal view they had of what might happen to their lot; for they were, as it was, surrounded with the general affliction; not only the city was thus terribly visited, but all the market towns and towns of note on both sides the river, and a great way into the country, were more or less infected; as Romford,

Barking, Grays, and the villages about on the Essex side, and Greenwich, Woolwich, Dartford, Gravesend, and the city of Rochester, with the towns of Strood and Chatham, adjoining on the Kentish side; so that they had but one course to take, which was that which they had been consulting upon, namely, of putting out to sea, and going to the north, round Scotland to Ireland, which was at best a long and, considering it was winter, a dangerous voyage.

But now they were in great hopes of a complete deliverance, for every week, as above, the plague abated, and they began to see the boats pass and repass as usual to and from London, and several vessels loaden with corn from the coast of Kent and Essex went up to market, venturing in hopes of a good price; as also coasting vessels from the coast of Suffolk with butter and cheese came up in considerable numbers; so that trade seemed to be restored, and the people were not so afraid of one another as usual.

However, they continued where they were, all of them, and agreed that they would not suffer any boat to come on board them from any place whatsoever, or any of their company to go on shore or on board any other vessel, till they found things still better. And in this cautious manner they lived out the whole month of November, by which time the distemper was so far abated in London that the burials for the whole week amounted to but 428, whereof of the plague but 210; abundance of parishes entirely clear of the plague, and but 24 dead of it in the whole city.

During this happy decrease of the burials, though they kept their resolutions as to the going up to the city, yet they went on shore with their boats frequently to Purfleet and to Greenhithe, and to other unfrequented places, to get fresh provisions, butter, fowls, eggs, and such like; also to a little town called Rainham, to which there is a small creek that their boats could go up in, and where they employed a butcher to kill some sheep on purpose for them, I mean for all the ships, and where they got information how the infection was in the country; where they found that as it was later coming among them there, so it was not so much abated in proportion in the country as in London, and this made them more cautious.

Besides, as they were thinking of going up to London, they were a little alarmed with what might indeed be reasonably expected, namely, that the people flocking on all hands to London by the necessity of business, prospect of gain, or other things, they would come thither too hastily, and catch the distemper before it was quite gone. And indeed so it was, for the very first week of November, when the plague was decreased to 1031 per week, it increased again 400 in one week; and so again in the first and second weeks in December, when it was fallen, as above, to 210, it increased again almost 100.

This made them more cautious, and whereas before they were for coming up in the ships' boats to London, now they altered their measures, and resolved to weigh their anchors and come up in their ships as they were, and come for the first time no farther than

to Deptford Reach, where they would continue till they heard how things went.

Accordingly, they weighed from Long Reach, and having good weather, came all together into the lower end of what they call now Limehouse Reach, a little above Deptford; here they came to an anchor, mooring their ships two and two, close aboard one another; whereas they lay before single and separate one from another. And now they began to be better acquainted, to visit one another, and congratulate their deliverance, and be thankful also (that I am to suppose) to their Great Deliverer for their preservation.

While they continued here, the family I am speaking of sent some of their servants to town, to open and air the house, make fires in the rooms, air and warm the beds, dry the linen and the like; and particularly the merchant, the elder brother, who had been acquainted with such things abroad, caused all the hangings in the house to be taken down, and all except tapestry to be burned. The younger brother would have had them only baked or washed in vinegar, and dried very near the fire; but he was positive to have them burned, as what, he said, might retain an infectious air, though they were not sure any such air was in the house.

Thus after almost four months' absence, all things being prepared within doors, and the whole parish which their house stood in having been several weeks free from the plague, they returned to their habitation, sound and in health; their measures for preparation, as well as for preservation, being such as we may justly recommend to the practice of others, if

the like visitation should come upon us, as we have but too much reason to fear it may.

But I cannot leave this subject without returning to the blessed couple, the brother and sister, whose preparations for death are as remarkable and exemplary as the preparations of the other were for life; and which, I hope, I may, with more earnestness than ordinary, recommend for the practice of all such who are apprehensive of the same judgment, and who desire to be supported with the same courage and upon the same religious foundation.

From the time that the elder brother, who we call the merchant, accepted the offer of the captain of the ship, they seemed to be entirely passive in the matter of removing or not removing, leaving it wholly to Providence, and their brother's direction only; indeed, they looked upon the captain's unexpected motion for it to be something like a call from Heaven to them to come out of the danger, and therefore when they found that particular in it, which was not related to them at first, they closed willingly with the offer.

While they were in the ship, they continued their particular conversations upon the subject of death, and their fasts twice a week as before, though they had not so good convenience for their retirement. They were composedly cheerful, and as they were fully resigned, and that upon a good and solid foundation, to the dispositions of Providence, so they left all the other things, such as removing from one place to another, down the river and up the river, wholly to the direction of their brother the merchant.

This was the sweet and happy consequence of a serious preparation, which I cannot therefore but earnestly recommend to every Christian's consideration, as that alone which will compose them and make them present to themselves in the greatest distress that can be possible to fall upon them, and in all the dangers of a general infection.

It may, on the contrary, be observed of the first brother (though a religious man too in his degree), yet that having put off the evil day, and endeavoured to keep off the apprehensions of it from his mind, he had likewise put off his preparations, as well of one sort as of another, either for soul or body; and what was the consequence? His passions, not his piety, were agitated when the hour came upon him; he was in a continual hurry of mind, and in a terrible fright, even to amazement and discomposure; he thought himself secure nowhere, and he made all their restraints when he was in the ship so much the more severe by his constant uneasiness, lest the infection should reach them. He would not have had the ship have lain at Long Reach, because he heard the plague was at Dartford, though the town of Dartford lay three or four miles off in the country, and up a creek or river which few boats went up or came down, and none near to them, for they lay near a mile below the creek. He was also afraid in the Hope, because he heard it was at Gravesend, though no boat came near them, and he would not let any of the men go on shore, no, not in the marshes where there were no towns, so much as to buy things that they wanted of the farmers. His

mind was also full of horror, and when he read the bills of mortality his flesh would tremble, and he would fall into such agonies as can hardly be described. And thus stood the difference between the prepared and the unprepared; let us choose for ourselves! God grant that every sincere Christian may have his eyes up to Him in all such cases, and prepare his mind by a sincere repentance for all their sins, and a resolved and steady giving themselves up to the Divine disposal; then they shall experience that happy truth, that "he shall not be afraid of evil tidings, whose heart is fixed, trusting in the Lord."

THE DUMB PHILOSOPHER; OR, GREAT BRITAIN'S WONDER

PREFACE

THE formality of a preface to this little book might have been very well omitted, if it were not to gratify the curiosity of some inquisitive people, who, I foresee, will be apt to make objections against the reality of the narrative.

Indeed, the public has too often been imposed upon by fictitious stories, and some of a very late date, so that I think myself obliged, by the usual respect which is paid to candid and impartial readers, to acquaint them, by way of introduction, with what they are to expect, and what they may depend upon, and yet with this caution too, that it is an indication of ill nature or ill manners, if not both, to pry into a secret that 's industriously concealed.

However, that there may be nothing wanting on my part, I do hereby assure the reader that the papers from whence the following sheets were extracted are now in town, in the custody of a person of unquestionable reputation, who, I 'll be bold to say, will not only be ready but proud to produce them upon a good occasion, and that, I think, is as much satisfaction as the nature of this case requires.

As to the performance, it can signify little now to make an apology upon that account, any further than

this, that, if the reader pleases, he may take notice that what he has now before him was collected from a large bundle of papers, most of which were writ in short-hand, and very ill digested. However, this may be relied upon, that though the language is something altered, and now and then a word thrown in to help the expression, yet strict care has been taken to speak the author's mind, and keep as close as possible to the meaning of the original. For the design, I think there 's nothing need be said in vindication of that. Here 's a dumb philosopher introduced to a wicked and degenerate generation as a proper emblem of virtue and morality; and if the world could be persuaded to look upon him with candour and impartiality, and then to copy after him, the Editor has gained his end, and would think himself sufficiently recompensed for his present trouble.

The DUMB PHILOSOPHER; *or*, GREAT BRITAIN'S WONDER

PART I

AMONG the many strange and surprising events that help to fill the accounts of this last century, I know none that merit more an entire credit, or are more fit to be preserved and handed to posterity, than those I am now going to lay before the public.

Dickory Cronke, the subject of the following narrative, was born at a little hamlet, near St. Columb, in Cornwall, on the 29th of May 1660, being the day and year in which King Charles the Second was restored. His parents were of mean extraction, but honest, industrious people, and well beloved in their neighbourhood. His father's chief business was to work at the tin mines; his mother stayed at home to look after the children, of which they had several living at the same time. Our Dickory was the youngest, and being but a sickly child, had always a double portion of her care and tenderness.

It was upwards of three years before it was discovered that he was born dumb, the knowledge of which at first gave his mother great uneasiness, but finding soon after that he had his hearing, and all his other senses to the greatest perfection, her grief began to abate, and she resolved to have him brought up

as well as their circumstances and his capacity would permit.

As he grew, notwithstanding his want of speech, he every day gave some instance of a ready genius, and a genius much superior to the country children, insomuch that several gentlemen in the neighbourhood took particular notice of him, and would often call him *Restoration Dick*, and give him money, &c.

When he came to be eight years of age, his mother agreed with a person in the next village to teach him to read and write, both which, in a very short time, he acquired to such perfection, especially the latter, that he not only taught his own brothers and sisters, but likewise several young men and women in the neighbourhood, which often brought him in small sums, which he always laid out in such necessaries as he stood most in need of.

In this state he continued till he was about twenty, and then he began to reflect how scandalous it was for a young man of his age and circumstances to live idle at home, and so resolves to go with his father to the mines, to try if he could get something towards the support of himself and the family; but being of a tender constitution, and often sick, he soon perceived that sort of business was too hard for him, so was forced to return home and continue in his former station; upon which he grew exceeding melancholy, which his mother observing, she comforted him in the best manner she could, telling him that if it should please God to take her away, she had something left in store for him, which would preserve him against public want.

This kind assurance from a mother whom he so dearly loved gave him some, though not an entire, satisfaction; however, he resolves to acquiesce under it till Providence should order something for him more to his content and advantage, which, in a short time, happened according to his wish. The manner was thus: —

One Mr. Owen Parry, a Welsh gentleman of good repute, coming from Bristol to Padstow, a little sea-port in the county of Cornwall, near the place where Dickory dwelt, and hearing much of this dumb man's perfections, would needs have him sent for; and finding by his significant gestures and all outward appearances that he much exceeded the character that the country gave of him, took a mighty liking to him, insomuch that he told him, if he would go with him into Pembrokeshire, he would be kind to him, and take care of him as long as he lived.

This kind and unexpected offer was so welcome to poor Dickory, that, without any further consideration, he got a pen and ink and wrote a note, and in a very handsome and submissive manner returned him thanks for his favour, assuring him he would do his best to continue and improve it; and that he would be ready to wait upon him whenever he should be pleased to command.

To shorten the account as much as possible, all things were concluded to their mutual satisfaction, and in about a fortnight's time they set forward for Wales, where Dickory, notwithstanding his dumbness, behaved himself with so much diligence and affability, that he not only gained the love of

the family where he lived, but of everybody round him.

In this station he continued till the death of his master, which happened about twenty years afterwards; in all which time, as has been confirmed by several of the family, he was never observed to be anyways disguised by drinking, or to be guilty of any of the follies and irregularities incident to servants in gentlemen's houses. On the contrary, when he had any spare time, his constant custom was to retire with some good book into a private place within call, and there employ himself in reading, and then writing down his observations upon what he read.

After the death of his master, whose loss afflicted him to the last degree, one Mrs. Mary Mordant, a gentlewoman of great virtue and piety and a very good fortune, took him into her service, and carried him with her, first to Bath, and then to Bristol, where, after a lingering distemper, which continued for about four years, she died likewise.

Upon the loss of his mistress, Dickory grew again exceeding melancholy and disconsolate; at length, reflecting that death is but a common debt which all mortals owe to nature, and must be paid sooner or later, he became a little better satisfied, and so determines to get together what he had saved in his service, and then to return to his native country, and there finish his life in privacy and retirement.

Having been, as has been mentioned, about twenty-four years a servant, and having, in the interim, received two legacies, viz., one of thirty pounds, left

him by his master, and another of fifteen pounds by his mistress, and being always very frugal, he had got by him in the whole upwards of sixty pounds. "This," thinks he, "with prudent management will be enough to support me as long as I live, and so I 'll e'en lay aside all thoughts of future business, and make the best of my way to Cornwall, and there find out some safe and solitary retreat, where I may have liberty to meditate and make my melancholy observations upon the several occurrences of human life."

This resolution prevailed so far that no time was let slip to get everything in readiness to go with the first ship. As to his money, he always kept that locked up by him, unless he sometimes lent it to a friend without interest, for he had a mortal hatred to all sorts of usury or extortion. His books, of which he had a considerable quantity, and some of them very good ones, together with his other equipage, he got packed up, that nothing might be wanting against the first opportunity.

In a few days he heard of a vessel bound to Padstow, the very port he wished to go to, being within four or five miles of the place where he was born. When he came thither, which was in less than a week, his first business was to inquire after the state of his family. It was some time before he could get any information of them, until an old man, that knew his father and mother, and remembered they had a son was born dumb, recollected him, and, after a great deal of difficulty, made him understand that all his family except his youngest sister were dead, and that

she was a widow, and lived at a little town called St. Helen's [Helland], about ten miles farther in the country.

This doleful news, we must imagine, must be extremely shocking, and add a new sting to his former affliction; and here it was that he began to exercise the philosopher, and to demonstrate himself both a wise and a good man. "All these things," thinks he, "are the will of Providence, and must not be disputed;" and so he bore up under them with an entire resignation, resolving that, as soon as he could find a place where he might deposit his trunk and boxes with safety, he would go to St. Helen's in quest of his sister.

How his sister and he met, and how transported they were to see each other after so long an interval, I think is not very material. It is enough for the present purpose that Dickory soon recollected his sister, and she him; and after a great many endearing tokens of love and tenderness, he wrote to her, telling her that he believed Providence had bestowed on him as much as would support him as long as he lived, and that if she thought proper he would come and spend the remainder of his days with her.

The good woman no sooner read his proposal than she accepted it, adding, withal, that she could wish her entertainment was better; but, if he would accept of it as it was, she would do her best to make everything easy, and that he should be welcome, upon his own terms, to stay with her as long as he pleased.

This affair being so happily settled to his full satisfaction, he returns to Padstow, to fetch the things

he had left behind him, and the next day came back to St. Helen's, where, according to his own proposal, he continued to the day of his death, which happened upon the 29th of May 1718, about the same hour in which he was born.

Having thus given a short detail of the several periods of his life, extracted chiefly from the papers which he left behind him, I come in the next place to make a few observations how he managed himself and spent his time toward the latter part of it.

His constant practice, both winter and summer, was to rise and set with the sun; and, if the weather would permit, he never failed to walk in some unfrequented place for three hours, both morning and evening, and there, it is supposed, he composed the following meditations. The chief part of his sustenance was milk, with a little bread boiled in it, of which, in a morning, after his walk, he would eat the quantity of a pint, and sometimes more. Dinners, he never ate any; and at night he would only have a pretty large piece of bread, and drink a draught of good spring water; and after this method he lived during the whole time he was at St. Helen's. It is observed of him that he never slept out of a bed, nor never lay awake in one; which I take to be an argument, not only of a strong and healthful constitution, but of a mind composed and calm, and entirely free from the ordinary disturbances of human life. He never gave the least signs of complaint or dissatisfaction at anything, unless it was when he heard the tinners swear, or saw them drunk; and then, too, he would get out of the way as soon as he had let them see, by some significant signs, how

scandalous and ridiculous they made themselves; and against the next time he met them, would be sure to have a paper ready written, wherein he would represent the folly of drunkenness, and the dangerous consequences that generally attended it.

Idleness was his utter aversion, and if at any time he had finished the business of the day, and was grown weary of reading and writing, in which he daily spent six hours at least, he would certainly find something, either within doors or without, to employ himself.

Much might be said both with regard to the wise and regular management and the prudent methods he took to spend his time well towards the declension of his life; but, as his history may perhaps be shortly published at large by a better hand, I shall only observe in the general that he was a person of great wisdom and sagacity. He understood nature beyond the ordinary capacity, and if he had had a competency of learning suitable to his genius, neither this nor the former ages would have produced a better philosopher or a greater man.

I come next to speak of the manner of his death and the consequences thereof, which are, indeed, very surprising, and, perhaps, not altogether unworthy a general observation. I shall relate them as briefly as I can, and leave every one to believe or disbelieve as he thinks proper.

Upon the 26th of May, 1718, according to his usual method, about four in the afternoon he went out to take his evening walk; but before he could reach the place he intended he was seized with an apoplectic fit, which only gave him liberty to sit

down under a tree, where, in an instant, he was deprived of all manner of sense and motion, and so he continued, as appears by his own confession afterwards, for more than fourteen hours.

His sister, who knew how exact he was in all his methods, finding him stay a considerable time beyond the usual hour, concludes that some misfortune must needs have happened to him, or he would certainly have been at home before. In short, she went immediately to all the places he was wont to frequent, but nothing could be heard or seen of him till the next morning, when a young man as he was going to work discovered him, and went home and told his sister that her brother lay in such a place, under a tree, and, as he believed, had been robbed and murdered.

The poor woman, who had all night been under the most dreadful apprehensions, was now frighted and confounded to the last degree. However, recollecting herself, and finding there was no remedy, she got two or three of her neighbours to bear her company, and so hastened with the young man to the tree, where she found her brother lying in the same posture that he had described.

The dismal object at first view startled and surprised everybody present, and filled them full of different notions and conjectures. But some of the company going nearer to him, and finding that he had lost nothing, and that there were no marks of any violence to be discovered about him, they conclude that it must be an apoplectic or some other sudden fit that had surprised him in his walk; upon

which his sister and the rest began to feel his hands and face, and observing that he was still warm, and that there were some symptoms of life yet remaining, they conclude that the best way was to carry him home to bed, which was accordingly done with the utmost expedition.

When they had got him into the bed, nothing was omitted that they could think of to bring him to himself, but still he continued utterly insensible for about six hours. At the sixth hour's end he began to move a little, and in a very short time was so far recovered, to the great astonishment of everybody about him, that he was able to look up, and to make a sign to his sister to bring him a cup of water.

After he had drunk the water he soon perceived that all his faculties were returned to their former stations, and though his strength was very much abated by the length and rigour of the fit, yet his intellects were as strong and vigorous as ever.

His sister observing him to look earnestly upon the company, as if he had something extraordinary to communicate to them, fetched him a pen and ink and a sheet of paper, which, after a short pause, he took, and wrote as follows: —

"Dear Sister, — I have now no need of pen, ink, and paper, to tell you my meaning. I find the strings that bound up my tongue, and hindered me from speaking, are unloosed, and I have words to express myself as freely and distinctly as any other person. From whence this strange and unexpected event should proceed, I must not pretend to say, any further than this, that 't is doubtless the hand of Providence that has

done it, and in that I ought to acquiesce. Pray let me be alone for two or three hours, that I may be at liberty to compose myself, and put my thoughts in the best order I can before I leave them behind me."

The poor woman, though extremely startled at what her brother had written, yet took care to conceal it from the neighbours, who, she knew, as well as she, must be mightily surprised at a thing so utterly unexpected. Says she, "My brother desires to be alone; I believe he may have something in his mind that disturbs him." Upon which the neighbours took their leave and returned home, and his sister shut the door, and left him alone to his private contemplations.

After the company were withdrawn he fell into a sound sleep, which lasted from two till six, and his sister, being apprehensive of the return of his fit, came to the bedside, and asking softly if he wanted anything, he turned about to her and spoke to this effect: "Dear sister, you see me not only recovered out of a terrible fit, but likewise that I have the liberty of speech, a blessing that I have been deprived of almost sixty years, and I am satisfied you are sincerely joyful to find me in the state I now am in; but, alas! 't is but a mistaken kindness. These are things but of short duration, and if they were to continue for a hundred years longer, I can't see how I should be anyways the better.

"I know the world too well to be fond of it, and am fully satisfied that the difference between a long and a short life is insignificant, especially when I consider the accidents and company I am to encounter.

Do but look seriously and impartially upon the astonishing notion of time and eternity, what an immense deal has run out already, and how infinite 't is still in the future; do but seriously and deliberately consider this, and you 'll find, upon the whole, that three days and three ages of life come much to the same measure and reckoning."

As soon as he had ended his discourse upon the vanity and uncertainty of human life, he looked steadfastly upon her. "Sister," says he, "I conjure you not to be disturbed at what I am going to tell you, which you will undoubtedly find to be true in every particular. I perceive my glass is run, and I have now no more to do in this world but to take my leave of it; for to-morrow about this time my speech will be again taken from me, and, in a short time, my fit will return; and the next day, which I understand is the day on which I came into this troublesome world, I shall exchange it for another, where, for the future, I shall for ever be free from all manner of sin and sufferings."

The good woman would have made him a reply, but he prevented her by telling her he had no time to hearken to unnecessary complaints or animadversions. "I have a great many things in my mind," says he, "that require a speedy and serious consideration. The time I have to stay is but short, and I have a great deal of important business to do in it. Time and death are both in my view, and seem both to call aloud to me to make no delay. I beg of you, therefore, not to disquiet yourself or me. What must be, must be. The decrees of Providence are

eternal and unalterable; why, then, should we torment ourselves about that which we cannot remedy?

"I must confess, my dear sister, I owe you many obligations for your exemplary fondness to me, and do solemnly assure you I shall retain the sense of them to the last moment. All that I have to request of you is, that I may be alone for this night. I have it in my thoughts to leave some short observations behind me, and likewise to discover some things of great weight which have been revealed to me, which may perhaps be of some use hereafter to you and your friends. What credit they may meet with I can't say, but, depend, the consequence, according to their respective periods, will account for them, and vindicate them against the supposition of falsity and mere suggestion."

Upon this, his sister left him till about four in the morning, when coming to his bedside to know if he wanted anything, and how he had rested, he made her this answer: "I have been taking a cursory view of my life, and though I find myself exceedingly deficient in several particulars, yet I bless God I cannot find I have any just grounds to suspect my pardon. In short," says he, "I have spent this night with more inward pleasure and true satisfaction than ever I spent a night through the whole course of my life."

After he had concluded what he had to say upon the satisfaction that attended an innocent and well-spent life, and observed what a mighty consolation it was to persons, not only under the apprehension, but even in the very agonies, of death itself, he desired

her to bring him his usual cup of water, and then to help him on with his clothes, that he might sit up, and so be in a better posture to take his leave of her and her friends.

When she had taken him up and placed him at a table where he usually sat, he desired her to bring him his box of papers, and after he had collected those he intended should be preserved, he ordered her to bring a candle, that he might see the rest burnt. The good woman seemed at first to oppose the burning of his papers, till he told her they were only useless trifles, some unfinished observations which he had made in his youthful days, and were not fit to be seen by her or anybody that should come after him.

After he had seen his papers burnt, and placed the rest in their proper order, and had likewise settled all his other affairs, which was only fit to be done between himself and his sister, he desired her to call two or three of the most reputable neighbours, not only to be witnesses of his will, but likewise to hear what he had further to communicate before the return of his fit, which he expected very speedily.

His sister, who had beforehand acquainted two or three of her confidants with all that had happened, was very much rejoiced to hear her brother make so unexpected a concession; and accordingly, without any delay or hesitation, went directly into the neighbourhood and brought home her two select friends, upon whose secrecy and sincerity she knew she might depend upon all accounts.

In her absence he felt several symptoms of the

approach of his fit, which made him a little uneasy, lest it should entirely seize him before he had perfected his will, but that apprehension was quickly removed by her speedy return. After she had introduced her friends into his chamber, he proceeded to express himself in the following manner: —

"Dear sister, you now see your brother upon the brink of eternity; and as the words of dying persons are commonly the most regarded, and make deepest impressions, I cannot suspect but you will suffer the few I am about to say to have always some place in your thoughts, that they may be ready for you to make use of upon any occasion.

"Do not be fond of anything on this side of eternity, or suffer your interest to incline you to break your word, quit your modesty, or to do anything that will not bear the light, and look the world in the face. For be assured of this: the person that values the virtue of his mind and the dignity of his reason, is always easy and well fortified both against death and misfortune, and is perfectly indifferent about the length or shortness of his life. Such a one is solicitous about nothing but his own conduct, and for fear he should be deficient in the duties of religion, and the respective functions of reason and prudence.

"Always go the nearest way to work. Now, the nearest way through all the business of human life are the paths of religion and honesty, and keeping those as directly as you can, you avoid all the dangerous precipices that often lie in the road, and sometimes block up the passage entirely.

"Remember that life was but lent at first, and that the remainder is more than you have reason to expect, and consequently ought to be managed with more than ordinary diligence. A wise man spends every day as if it were his last; his hour-glass is always in his hand, and he is never guilty of sluggishness or insincerity."

He was about to proceed when a sudden symptom of the return of his fit put him in mind that it was time to get his will witnessed, which was no sooner done but he took it up and gave it to his sister, telling her that though all he had was hers of right, yet he thought it proper, to prevent even a possibility of a dispute, to write down his mind in the nature of a will, "wherein I have given you," says he, "the little that I have left, except my books and papers, which, as soon as I am dead, I desire may be delivered to Mr. Anthony Barlow, a near relation of my worthy master, Mr. Owen Parry."

This Mr. Anthony Barlow was an old contemplative Welsh gentleman, who, being under some difficulties in his own country, was forced to come into Cornwall and take sanctuary among the tinners. Dickory, though he kept himself as retired as possible, happened to meet him one day upon his walks, and presently remembered that he was the very person that used frequently to come to visit his master while he lived in Pembrokeshire, and so went to him, and by signs made him understand who he was.

The old gentleman, though at first surprised at this unexpected interview, soon recollected that he had formerly seen at Mr. Parry's a dumb man, whom

they used to call the Dumb Philosopher, so concludes immediately that consequently this must be he. In short, they soon made themselves known to each other, and from that time contracted a strict friendship and a correspondence by letters, which for the future they mutually managed with the greatest exactness and familiarity.

But to leave this as a matter not much material, and to return to our narrative. By this time Dickory's speech began to falter, which his sister observing, put him in mind that he would do well to make some declaration of his faith and principles of religion, because some reflections had been made upon him upon the account of his neglect, or rather his refusal, to appear at any place of public worship.

"Dear sister," says he, "you observe very well, and I wish the continuance of my speech for a few moments that I might make an ample declaration upon that account. But I find that cannot be; my speech is leaving me so fast that I can only tell you that I have always lived, and now die, an unworthy member of the ancient Catholic and Apostolic Church; and as to my faith and principles, I refer you to my papers, which, I hope, will in some measure vindicate me against the reflections you mention."

He had hardly finished his discourse to his sister and her two friends, and given some short directions relating to his burial, but his speech left him; and what makes the thing the more remarkable, it went away, in all appearance, without giving him any sort of pain or uneasiness.

When he perceived that his speech was entirely

vanished, and that he was again in his original state of dumbness, he took his pen as formerly, and wrote to his sister, signifying that whereas the sudden loss of his speech had deprived him of the opportunity to speak to her and her friends what he intended, he would leave it for them in writing; and so desired he might not be disturbed till the return of his fit, which he expected in six hours at farthest. According to his desire they all left him, and then, with the greatest resignation imaginable, he wrote down the meditations following: —

PART II

An Abstract of his Faith and the Principles of his Religion, &c., which begins thus:

Dear Sister, — I thank you for putting me in mind to make a declaration of my faith and the principles of my religion. I find, as you very well observe, I have been under some reflections upon that account, and therefore I think it highly requisite that I set that matter right in the first place. To begin, therefore, with my faith, in which I intend to be as short and as comprehensive as I can:

1. I most firmly believe that it was the eternal will of God, and the result of His infinite wisdom, to create a world, and for the glory of His Majesty to make several sorts of creatures in order and degree one after another: that is to say, angels, or pure immortal spirits; men, consisting of immortal spirits and matter, having rational and sensitive souls;

brutes, having mortal and sensitive souls; and mere vegetatives, such as trees, plants, &c.; and these creatures so made do, as it were, clasp the higher and lower world together.

2. I believe the Holy Scriptures, and everything therein contained, to be the pure and essential word of God; and that, according to these sacred writings, man, the lord and prince of the creation, by his disobedience in Paradise, forfeited his innocence and the dignity of his nature, and subjected himself and all his posterity to sin and misery.

3. I believe, and am fully and entirely satisfied, that God the Father, out of His infinite goodness and compassion to mankind, was pleased to send His only Son, the second person in the holy and undivided Trinity, to mediate for him, and to procure his redemption and eternal salvation.

4. I believe that God the Son, out of His infinite love, and for the glory of the Deity, was pleased voluntarily and freely to descend from heaven, and to take our nature upon Him, and to lead an exemplary life of purity, holiness, and perfect obedience, and at last to suffer an ignominious death upon the cross for the sins of the whole world, and to rise again the third day for our justification.

5. I believe that the Holy Ghost, out of His infinite goodness, was pleased to undertake the office of sanctifying us with His divine grace, and thereby assisting us with faith to believe, will to desire, and power to do all those things that are required of us in this world, in order to entitle us to the blessings of just men made perfect in the world to come.

6. I believe that these three persons are of equal power, majesty, and duration, and that the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost is all one, and that they are equally uncreate, incomprehensible, eternal, and almighty; and that none is greater or less than the other, but that every one hath one and the same Divine nature and perfections.

These, sister, are the doctrines which have been received and practised by the best men of every age, from the beginning of the Christian religion to this day, and it is upon this I ground my faith and hopes of salvation, not doubting but, if my life and practice have been answerable to them, that I shall be quickly translated out of this kingdom of darkness, out of this world of sorrow, vexation, and confusion, into that blessed kingdom, where I shall cease to grieve and to suffer, and shall be happy to all eternity.

As to my principles in religion, to be as brief as I can, I declare myself to be a member of Christ's Church, which I take to be a universal society of all Christian people, distributed under lawful governors and pastors into particular churches, holding communion with each other in all the essentials of the Christian faith, worship, and discipline; and among these I look upon the Church of England to be the chief and best constituted.

The Church of England is doubtless the great bulwark of the ancient Catholic or Apostolic faith all over the world; a Church that has all the spiritual advantages that the nature of a Church is capable of. From the doctrine and principles of the Church of

England we are taught loyalty to our prince, fidelity to our country, and justice to all mankind: and therefore, as I look upon this to be one of the most excellent branches of the Church Universal, and stands, as it were, between superstition and hypocrisy, I therefore declare, for the satisfaction of you and your friends, as I have always lived so I now die, a true and sincere, though a most unworthy, member of it. And as to my discontinuance of my attendance at the public worship, I refer you to my papers, which I have left with my worthy friend, Mr. Barlow. And thus, my dear sister, I have given you a short account of my faith and the principles of my religion. I come, in the next place, to lay before you a few meditations and observations I have at several times collected together, more particularly those since my retirement to St. Helen's.

Meditations and Observations relating to the Conduct of Human Life in general.

1. Remember how often you have neglected the great duties of religion and virtue, and slighted the opportunities that Providence has put into your hands, and, withal, that you have a set period assigned you for the management of the affairs of human life; and then reflect seriously that, unless you resolve immediately to improve the little remains, the whole must necessarily slip away insensibly, and then you are lost beyond recovery.

2. Let an unaffected gravity, freedom, justice, and sincerity shine through all your actions, and let no

fancies and chimeras give the least check to those excellent qualities. This is an easy task, if you will but suppose everything you do to be your last, and if you can keep your passions and appetites from crossing your reason. Stand clear of rashness, and have nothing of insincerity or self-love to infect you.

3. Manage all your thoughts and actions with such prudence and circumspection as if you were sensible you were just going to step into the grave. A little thinking will show a man the vanity and uncertainty of all sublunary things, and enable him to examine maturely the manner of dying; which, if duly abstracted from the terror of the idea, will appear nothing more than an unavoidable appendix of life itself, and a pure natural action.

4. Consider that ill-usage from some sort of people is in a manner necessary, and therefore don't be disquieted about it, but rather conclude that you and your enemy are both marching off the stage together, and that in a little time your very memories will be extinguished.

5. Among your principal observations upon human life, let it be always one to take notice what a great deal both of time and ease that man gains who is not troubled with the spirit of curiosity, who lets his neighbour's affairs alone, and confines his inspections to himself, and only takes care of honesty and a good conscience.

6. If you would live at your ease, and as much as possible be free from the encumbrances of life, manage but a few things at once, and let those, too, be such as are absolutely necessary. By this rule you will

draw the bulk of your business into a narrow compass, and have the double pleasure of making your actions good, and few into the bargain.

7. He that torments himself because things do not happen just as he would have them, is but a sort of ulcer in the world; and he that is selfish, narrow-souled, and sets up for a separate interest, is a kind of voluntary outlaw, and disincorporates himself from mankind.

8. Never think anything below you which reason and your own circumstances require, and never suffer yourself to be deterred by the ill-grounded notions of censure and reproach; but when honesty and conscience prompt you to say or do anything, do it boldly; never balk your resolution or start at the consequence.

9. If a man does me an injury, what 's that to me? 'T is his own action, and let him account for it. As for me, I am in my proper station, and only doing the business that Providence has allotted; and withal, I ought to consider that the best way to revenge is not to imitate the injury.

10. When you happen to be ruffled and put out of humour by any cross accident, retire immediately into your reason, and don't suffer your passion to overrule you a moment; for the sooner you recover yourself now the better you 'll be able to guard yourself for the future.

11. Don't be like those ill-natured people that, though they do not love to give a good word to their contemporaries, yet are mighty fond of their own commendations. This argues a perverse and unjust

temper, and often exposes the authors to scorn and contempt.

12. If any one convinces you of an error, change your opinion and thank him for it: truth and information are your business, and can never hurt anybody. On the contrary, he that is proud and stubborn, and wilfully continues in a mistake, 't is he that receives the mischief.

13. Because you see a thing difficult, don't instantly conclude it to be impossible to master it. Diligence and industry are seldom defeated. Look, therefore, narrowly into the thing itself, and what you observe proper and practicable in another, conclude likewise within your own power.

14. The principal business of human life is run through within the short compass of twenty-four hours; and when you have taken a deliberate view of the present age, you have seen as much as if you had begun with the world, the rest being nothing else but an endless round of the same thing over and over again.

15. Bring your will to your fate, and suit your mind to your circumstances. Love your friends and forgive your enemies, and do justice to all mankind, and you 'll be secure to make your passage easy, and enjoy most of the comforts that human life is capable to afford you.

16. When you have a mind to entertain yourself in your retirements, let it be with the good qualifications of your friends and acquaintance. Think with pleasure and satisfaction upon the honour and bravery of one, the modesty of another, the generosity of a third,

and so on; there being nothing more pleasant and diverting than the lively images and the advantages of those we love and converse with.

17. As nothing can deprive you of the privileges of your nature, or compel you to act counter to your reason, so nothing can happen to you but what comes from Providence, and consists with the interest of the universe.

18. Let people's tongues and actions be what they will, your business is to have honour and honesty in your view. Let them rail, revile, censure, and condemn, or make you the subject of their scorn and ridicule, what does it all signify? You have one certain remedy against all their malice and folly, and that is to live so that nobody shall believe them.

19. Alas, poor mortals! did we rightly consider our own state and condition, we should find it would not be long before we have forgot all the world, and, to be even, that all the world will have forgot us likewise.

20. He that would recommend himself to the public, let him do it by the candour and modesty of his behaviour, and by a generous indifference to external advantages. Let him love mankind, and resign to Providence, and then his works will follow him, and his good actions will praise him in the gate.

21. When you hear a discourse, let your understanding, as far as possible, keep pace with it, and lead you forward to those things which fall most within the compass of your own observations.

22. When vice and treachery shall be rewarded, and virtue and ability slighted and discountenanced;

when ministers of state shall rather fear man than God, and to screen themselves run into parties and factions; when noise and clamour and scandalous reports shall carry everything before them, 't is natural to conclude that a nation in such a state of infatuation stands upon the brink of destruction, and, without the intervention of some unforeseen accident, must be inevitably ruined.

23. When a prince is guarded by wise and honest men, and when all public officers are sure to be rewarded if they do well, and punished if they do evil, the consequence is plain: justice and honesty will flourish, and men will be always contriving, not for themselves, but for the honour and interest of their king and country.

24. Wicked men may sometimes go unpunished in this world, but wicked nations never do; because this world is the only place of punishment for wicked nations, though not for private and particular persons.

25. An administration that is merely founded upon human policy must be always subject to human chance; but that which is founded on the Divine wisdom can no more miscarry than the government of Heaven. To govern by parties and factions is the advice of an atheist, and sets up a government by the spirit of Satan. In such a government the prince can never be secure under the greatest promises, since, as men's interest changes, so will their duty and affections likewise.

26. It is a very ancient observation, and a very true one, that people generally despise where they flatter, and cringe to those they design to betray; so

that truth and ceremony are, and always will be, two distinct things.

27. When you find your friend in an error, undeceive him with secrecy and civility, and let him see his oversight first by hints and glances; and if you cannot convince him, leave him with respect, and lay the fault upon your own management.

28. When you are under the greatest vexations, then consider that human life lasts but for a moment; and do not forget but that you are like the rest of the world, and faulty yourself in many instances; and withal, remember that anger and impatience often prove more mischievous than the provocation.

29. Gentleness and good-humour are invincible, provided they are without hypocrisy and design; they disarm the most barbarous and savage tempers, and make even malice ashamed of itself.

30. In all the actions of life let it be your first and principal care to guard against anger on the one hand and flattery on the other, for they are both unserviceable qualities, and do a great deal of mischief in the government of human life.

31. When a man turns knave or libertine, and gives way to fear, jealousy, and fits of the spleen; when his mind complains of his fortune, and he quits the station in which Providence has placed him, he acts perfectly counter to humanity, deserts his own nature, and, as it were, runs away from himself.

32. Be not heavy in business, disturbed in conversation, nor impertinent in your thoughts. Let your judgment be right, your actions friendly, and your mind contented; let them curse you, threaten you,

or despise you; let them go on: they can never injure your reason or your virtue, and then all the rest that they can do to you signifies nothing.

33. The only pleasure of human life is doing the business of the creation; and which way is that to be compassed very easily? Most certainly by the practice of general kindness, by rejecting the importunity of our senses, by distinguishing truth from falsehood, and by contemplating the works of the Almighty.

34. Be sure to mind that which lies before you, whether it be thought, word, or action; and never postpone an opportunity, or make virtue wait for you till to-morrow.

35. Whatever tends neither to the improvement of your reason nor the benefit of society, think it below you; and when you have done any considerable service to mankind, don't lessen it by your folly in gaping after reputation and requital.

36. When you find yourself sleepy in a morning, rouse yourself, and consider that you are born to business, and that in doing good in your generation you answer your character and act like a man; whereas sleep and idleness do but degrade you, and sink you down to a brute.

37. A mind that has nothing of hope, or fear, or aversion, or desire, to weaken and disturb it, is the most impregnable security. Hither we may with safety retire and defy our enemies; and he that sees not this advantage must be extremely ignorant, and he that forgets it unhappy.

38. Don't disturb yourself about the faults of

other people, but let everybody's crimes be at their own door. Have always this great maxim in your remembrance, that to play the knave is to rebel against religion; all sorts of injustice being no less than high treason against Heaven itself.

39. Don't contemn death, but meet it with a decent and religious fortitude, and look upon it as one of those things which Providence has ordered. If you want a cordial to make the apprehensions of dying go down a little the more easily, consider what sort of world and what sort of company you'll part with. To conclude, do but look seriously into the world, and there you'll see multitudes of people preparing for funerals, and mourning for their friends and acquaintances; and look out again a little afterwards, and you'll see others doing the very same thing for them.

40. In short, men are but poor transitory things. To-day they are busy and harassed with the affairs of human life, and to-morrow life itself is taken from them, and they are returned to their original dust and ashes.

PART III

Containing prophetic observations relating to the affairs of Europe and of Great Britain, more particularly from 1720 *to* 1729.

1. In the latter end of 1720, an eminent old lady shall bring forth five sons at a birth; the youngest shall live and grow up to maturity, but the four

eldest shall either die in the nursery or be all carried off by one sudden and unexpected accident.

2. About this time a man with a double head shall arrive in Britain from the south. One of these heads shall deliver messages of great importance to the governing party, and the other to the party that 's opposite to them. The first shall believe the monster, but the last shall discover the impostor, and so happily disengage themselves from a snare that was laid to destroy them and their posterity. After this the two heads shall unite, and the monster shall appear in his proper shape.

3. In the year 1721, a philosopher from Lower Germany shall come, first to Amsterdam in Holland, and afterwards to London. He will bring with him a world of curiosities, and among them a pretended secret for the transmutation of metals. Under the umbrage of this mighty secret he shall pass upon the world for some time; but at length he shall be detected, and proved to be nothing but an empiric and a cheat, and so forced to sneak off, and leave the people he has deluded, either to bemoan their loss or laugh at their own folly. *N.B.*—This will be the last of his sect that will ever venture in this part of the world upon the same errand.

4. In this year great endeavours will be used for procuring a general peace, which shall be so near a conclusion that public rejoicings shall be made at the courts of several great potentates upon that account; but just in the critical juncture a certain neighbouring prince shall come to a violent death, which shall occasion new war and commotion all over Europe;

but these shall continue but for a short time, and at last terminate in the utter destruction of the first aggressors.

5. Towards the close of this year of mysteries, a person that was born blind shall have his sight restored, and shall see ravens perch upon the heads of traitors, among which the head of a notorious prelate shall stand upon the highest pole.

6. In the year 1722, there shall be a grand congress, and new overtures of peace offered by most of the principal parties concerned in the war, which shall have so good effect that a cessation of arms shall be agreed upon for six months, which shall be kept inviolable till a certain general, either through treachery or inadvertency, shall begin hostilities before the expiration of the term; upon which the injured prince shall draw his sword, and throw the scabbard into the sea, vowing never to return it till he shall obtain satisfaction for himself, and done justice to all that were oppressed.

7. At the close of this year, a famous bridge shall be broken down, and the water that runs under it shall be tinctured with the blood of two notorious malefactors, whose unexpected death shall make mighty alterations in the present state of affairs, and put a stop to the ruin of a nation, which must otherwise have been unavoidable.

8. 1723 begins with plots, conspiracies, and intestine commotions in several countries; nor shall Great Britain itself be free from the calamity. These shall continue till a certain young prince shall take the reins of government into his own hands; and after

that, a marriage shall be proposed, and an alliance concluded between two great potentates, who shall join their forces, and endeavour, in good earnest, to set all matters upon a right foundation.

9. This year several cardinals and prelates shall be publicly censured for heretical principles, and shall narrowly escape from being torn to pieces by the common people, who still look upon them as the grand disturbers of the public tranquillity, perfect incendiaries, and the chief promoters of their former, present, and future calamities.

10. In 1724-5 there will be many treaties and negotiations, and Great Britain, particularly, will be crowded with foreign ministers and ambassadors from remote princes and states. Trade and commerce will begin to flourish and revive, and everything will have a comfortable prospect, until some desperadoes, assisted by a monster with many heads, shall start new difficulties, and put the world again into a flame; but these shall be but of short duration.

11. Before the expiration of 1725, an eagle from the north shall fly directly to the south, and perch upon the palace of a prince, and first unravel the bloody projects and designs of a wicked set of people, and then publicly discover the murder of a great king, and the intended assassination of another greater than he.

12. In 1726, three princes will be born that will grow up to be men, and inherit the crowns of three of the greatest monarchies in Europe.

13. About this time the Pope will die, and after a great many intrigues and struggles a Spanish car-

dinal shall be elected, who shall decline the dignity, and declare his marriage with a great lady, heiress of one of the chief principalities in Italy, which may occasion new troubles in Europe, if not timely prevented.

14. In 1727, new troubles shall break out in the north, occasioned by the sudden death of a certain prince, and the avarice and ambition of another. Poor Poland seems to be pointed at; but the princes of the south shall enter into a confederacy to preserve her, and shall at length restore her peace, and prevent the perpetual ruin of her constitution.

15. Great endeavours will be used about this time for a comprehension in religion supported by crafty and designing men, and a party of mistaken zealots, which they shall artfully draw in to join with them; but as the project is ill-concerted and will be worse managed, it will come to nothing; and soon afterwards an effectual mode will be taken to prevent the like attempt for the future.

16. 1728 will be a year of inquiry and retrospection. Many exorbitant grants will be reassumed, and several persons who thought themselves secure will be called before the senate, and compelled to disgorge what they have unjustly pillaged either from the crown or the public.

17. About this time a new scaffold will be erected upon the confines of a certain great city, where an old count of a new extraction, that has been of all parties and true to none, will be doomed by his peers to make his first appearance. After this an old lady,

who has often been exposed to danger and disgrace, and sometimes brought to the very brink of destruction, will be brought to bed of three daughters at once, which they shall call Plenty, Peace, and Union; and these three shall live and grow up together, be the glory of their mother, and the comfort of posterity for many generations.

This is the substance of what he either writ or extracted from his papers in the interval between the loss of his speech and the return of his fit, which happened exactly at the time he had computed.

Upon the approach of his fit he made signs to be put to bed, which was no sooner done but he was seized with extreme agonies, which he bore up under with the greatest steadfastness, and after a severe conflict that lasted near eight hours, he expired.

Thus lived and thus died this extraordinary person; a person, though of mean extraction and obscure life, yet when his character comes to be fully and truly known, it will be read with pleasure, profit, and admiration.

His perfections at large would be the work of a volume, and inconsistent with the intention of these papers. I will therefore only add, for a conclusion, that he was a man of uncommon thought and judgment, and always kept his appetites and inclinations within their just limits.

His reason was strong and manly, his understanding sound and active, and his temper so easy, equal, and complaisant, that he never fell out either with

men or accidents. He bore all things with the highest affability, and computed justly upon their value and consequence, and then applied them to their proper uses.

A LETTER FROM OXFORD

Sir, — Being informed that you speedily intend to publish some memoirs relating to our dumb countryman, Dickory Cronke, I send you herewith a few lines, in the nature of an elegy, which I leave you to dispose of as you think fit. I knew and admired the man, and if I were capable, his character should be the first thing I would attempt. — Yours, &c.

AN ELEGY

IN MEMORY OF DICKORY CRONKE, THE DUMB PHILOSOPHER

Vitiis nemo sine nascitur; optimus ille
Qui minimis urgetur. — Horace.

If virtuous actions emulation raise,
Then this good man deserves immortal praise.
When Nature such extensive wisdom lent,
She sure designed him for our precedent.
Such great endowments in a man unknown,
Declare the blessings were not all his own,
But rather granted for a time to show
What the wise hand of Providence can do.
In him we may a bright example see
Of nature, justice, and morality;
A mind not subject to the frowns of fate,
But calm and easy in a servile state.
He always kept a guard upon his will,
And feared no harm, because he knew no ill.

THE DUMB PHILOSOPHER;

A decent posture, and an humble mien,
In every action of his life were seen.
Through all the different stages that he went,
He still appeared both wise and diligent:
Firm to his word, and punctual to his trust,
Sagacious, frugal, affable, and just.
No gainful views his bounded hopes could sway,
No wanton thought lead his chaste soul astray.
In short, his thoughts and actions both declare,
Nature designed him her philosopher;
That all mankind, by his example taught,
Might learn to live, and manage every thought.
Oh! could my muse the wondrous subject grace,
And, from his youth, his virtuous actions trace,
Could I in just and equal numbers tell,
How well he lived, and how devoutly fell,
I boldly might your strict attention claim,
And bid you learn, and copy out the man.

J. P.

Exeter College, *25th August* 1719.

EPITAPH

The occasion of this epitaph was briefly thus:— A gentleman, who had heard much in commendation of this dumb man, going accidentally to the churchyard where he was buried, and finding his grave without a tombstone, or any manner of memorandum of his death, he pulled out his pencil, and writ as follows:—

Pauper ubique jacet.

Near to this lonely unfrequented place,
Mixed with the common dust, neglected lies,
The man that every muse should strive to grace,
And all the world should for his virtue prize.
Stop, gentle passenger, and drop a tear,
Truth, justice, wisdom, all lie buried here.

What though he wants a monumental stone,
The common pomp of every fool or knave,
Those virtues which through all his actions shone
Proclaim his worth, and praise him in the grave.
His merits will a bright example give,
Which shall both time and envy, too, outlive.

Oh, had I power but equal to my mind,
A decent tomb should soon this place adorn.
With this inscription: Lo, here lies confined
A wondrous man, although obscurely born;
A man, though dumb, yet he was Nature's care.
Who marked him out her own philosopher.

A TRUE RELATION

OF THE

APPARITION OF ONE MRS. VEAL

THE NEXT DAY AFTER HER DEATH

TO ONE

MRS. BARGRAVE

AT

CANTERBURY, THE 8TH OF SEPTEMBER 1705

THE PREFACE

THIS relation is matter of fact, and attended with such circumstances as may induce any reasonable man to believe it. It was sent by a gentleman, a justice of peace at Maidstone, in Kent, and a very intelligent person, to his friend in London, as it is here worded; which discourse is attested by a very sober and understanding gentlewoman and kinswoman of the said gentleman's, who lives in Canterbury, within a few doors of the house in which the within-named Mrs. Bargrave lives; who believes his kinswoman to be of so discerning a spirit as not to be put upon by any fallacy, and who positively assured him that the whole matter as it is here related and laid down is what is really true, and what she herself had in the same words, as near as may be, from Mrs. Bargrave's own mouth, who, she knows, had no reason to invent and publish such a story, nor any design to forge and tell a lie, being a woman of much honesty and virtue, and her whole life a course, as it were, of piety. The use which we ought to make of it is to consider that there is a life to come after this, and a just God who will retribute to every one according to the deeds done in the body, and therefore to reflect upon our past course of life we have led in the world;

that our time is short and uncertain; and that if we would escape the punishment of the ungodly and receive the reward of the righteous, which is the laying hold of eternal life, we ought, for the time to come, to return to God by a speedy repentance, ceasing to do evil and learning to do well, to seek after God early, if haply He may be found of us, and lead such lives for the future as may be well pleasing in His sight.

A RELATION OF THE APPARITION *of* MRS. VEAL

THIS thing is so rare in all its circumstances, and on so good authority, that my reading and conversation has not given me anything like it. It is fit to gratify the most ingenious and serious inquirer. Mrs. Bargrave is the person to whom Mrs. Veal appeared after her death; she is my intimate friend, and I can avouch for her reputation for these last fifteen or sixteen years, on my own knowledge; and I can confirm the good character she had from her youth to the time of my acquaintance; though since this relation she is calumniated by some people that are friends to the brother of Mrs. Veal who appeared, who think the relation of this appearance to be a reflection, and endeavour what they can to blast Mrs. Bargrave's reputation, and to laugh the story out of countenance. But by the circumstances thereof, and the cheerful disposition of Mrs. Bargrave, notwithstanding the unheard-of ill-usage of a very wicked husband, there is not the least sign of dejection in her face; nor did I ever hear her let fall a desponding or murmuring expression; nay, not when actually under her husband's barbarity, which I have been witness to, and several other persons of undoubted reputation.

THE APPARITION OF MRS. VEAL

Now you must know Mrs. Veal was a maiden gentlewoman of about thirty years of age, and for some years last past had been troubled with fits, which were perceived coming on her by her going off from her discourse very abruptly to some impertinence. She was maintained by an only brother, and kept his house in Dover. She was a very pious woman, and her brother a very sober man, to all appearance; but now he does all he can to mull or quash the story. Mrs. Veal was intimately acquainted with Mrs. Bargrave from her childhood. Mrs. Veal's circumstances were then mean; her father did not take care of his children as he ought, so that they were exposed to hardships; and Mrs. Bargrave in those days had as unkind a father, though she wanted neither for food nor clothing, whilst Mrs. Veal wanted for both; so that it was in the power of Mrs. Bargrave to be very much her friend in several instances, which mightily endeared Mrs. Veal; insomuch that she would often say, "Mrs. Bargrave, you are not only the best, but the only friend I have in the world; and no circumstance in life shall ever dissolve my friendship." They would often condole each other's adverse fortune, and read together "Drelincourt upon Death," and other good books; and so, like two Christian friends, they comforted each other under their sorrow.

Some time after, Mr. Veal's friends got him a place in the Custom House at Dover, which occasioned Mrs. Veal, by little and little, to fall off from her intimacy with Mrs. Bargrave, though there was never any such thing as a quarrel; but an indifferency came on by

degrees, till at last Mrs. Bargrave had not seen her in two years and a half; though above a twelvemonth of the time Mrs. Bargrave had been absent from Dover, and this last half-year had been in Canterbury about two months of the time, dwelling in a house of her own.

In this house, on the 8th of September last, viz., 1705, she was sitting alone, in the forenoon, thinking over her unfortunate life, and arguing herself into a due resignation to Providence, though her condition seemed hard. "And," said she, "I have been provided for hitherto, and doubt not but I shall be still; and am well satisfied that my afflictions shall end when it is most fit for me;" and then took up her sewing-work, which she had no sooner done but she hears a knocking at the door. She went to see who it was there, and this proved to be Mrs. Veal, her old friend, who was in a riding-habit: at that moment of time the clock struck twelve at noon.

"Madam," says Mrs. Bargrave, "I am surprised to see you, you have been so long a stranger;" but told her she was glad to see her, and offered to salute her, which Mrs. Veal complied with, till their lips almost touched; and then Mrs. Veal drew her hand across her own eyes and said, "I am not very well," and so waived it. She told Mrs. Bargrave she was going a journey, and had a great mind to see her first. "But," says Mrs. Bargrave, "how came you to take a journey alone? I am amazed at it, because I know you have so fond a brother." "Oh," says Mrs. Veal, "I gave my brother the slip, and came

away, because I had so great a desire to see you before I took my journey." So Mrs. Bargrave went in with her into another room within the first, and Mrs. Veal set her down in an elbow-chair, in which Mrs. Bargrave was sitting when she heard Mrs. Veal knock. Then says Mrs. Veal, "My dear friend, I am come to renew our old friendship again, and beg your pardon for my breach of it; and if you can forgive me, you are one of the best of women." "Oh," says Mrs. Bargrave, "don't mention such a thing; I have not had an uneasy thought about it; I can easily forgive it." "What did you think of me?" said Mrs. Veal. Says Mrs. Bargrave, "I thought you were like the rest of the world, and that prosperity had made you forget yourself and me." Then Mrs. Veal reminded Mrs. Bargrave of the many friendly offices she did in her former days, and much of the conversation they had with each other in the time of their adversity; what books they read, and what comfort in particular they received from Drelincourt's "Book of Death," which was the best, she said, on that subject ever wrote. She also mentioned Dr. Sherlock, and two Dutch books which were translated, wrote upon death, and several others; but Drelincourt, she said, had the clearest notions of death and of the future state of any who had handled that subject. Then she asked Mrs. Bargrave whether she had Drelincourt. She said "Yes." Says Mrs. Veal, "Fetch it." And so Mrs. Bargrave goes upstairs and brings it down. Says Mrs. Veal, "Dear Mrs. Bargrave, if the eyes of our faith were as open as the eyes of our body, we

should see numbers of angels about us for our guard. The notions we have of heaven now are nothing like what it is, as Drelincourt says. Therefore be comforted under your afflictions, and believe that the Almighty has a particular regard to you, and that your afflictions are marks of God's favour; and when they have done the business they are sent for, they shall be removed from you. And believe me, my dear friend, believe what I say to you, one minute of future happiness will infinitely reward you for all your sufferings; for I can never believe" (and claps her hand upon her knee with great earnestness, which indeed ran through most of her discourse) "that ever God will suffer you to spend all your days in this afflicted state; but be assured that your afflictions shall leave you, or you them, in a short time." She spake in that pathetical and heavenly manner, that Mrs. Bargrave wept several times, she was so deeply affected with it.

Then Mrs. Veal mentioned Dr. Horneck's "Ascetick," at the end of which he gives an account of the lives of the primitive Christians. Their pattern she recommended to our imitation, and said their conversation was not like this of our age; "for now," says she, "there is nothing but frothy, vain discourse, which is far different from theirs. Theirs was to edification, and to build one another up in faith; so that they were not as we are, nor are we as they were; but," said she, "we might do as they did. There was a hearty friendship among them; but where is it now to be found?" Says Mrs. Bargrave, "'T is hard indeed to find a true friend in these days."

Says Mrs. Veal, "Mr. Norris has a fine copy of verses, called 'Friendship in Perfection,' which I wonderfully admire. Have you seen the book?" says Mrs. Veal. "No," says Mrs. Bargrave, "but I have the verses of my own writing out." "Have you?" says Mrs. Veal; "then fetch them." Which she did from above-stairs, and offered them to Mrs. Veal to read, who refused, and waived the thing, saying, holding down her head would make it ache; and then desired Mrs. Bargrave to read them to her, which she did. As they were admiring "Friendship" Mrs. Veal said, "Dear Mrs. Bargrave, I shall love you for ever." In the verses there is twice used the word Elysian. "Ah!" says Mrs. Veal, "these poets have such names for heaven!" She would often draw her hand across her own eyes and say, "Mrs. Bargrave, don't you think I am mightily impaired by my fits?" "No," says Mrs. Bargrave, "I think you look as well as ever I knew you."

After all this discourse, which the apparition put in words much finer than Mrs. Bargrave said she could pretend to, and was much more than she can remember (for it cannot be thought that an hour and three-quarter's conversation could all be retained, though the main of it she thinks she does), she said to Mrs. Bargrave she would have her write a letter to her brother, and tell him she would have him give rings to such and such, and that there was a purse of gold in her cabinet, and that she would have two broad pieces given to her cousin Watson.

Talking at this rate, Mrs. Bargrave thought that a fit was coming upon her, and so placed herself in a

chair just before her knees, to keep her from falling to the ground, if her fits should occasion it (for the elbow-chair, she thought, would keep her from falling on either side); and to divert Mrs. Veal, as she thought, she took hold of her gown-sleeve several times and commended it. Mrs. Veal told her it was a scoured silk, and newly made up. But for all this, Mrs. Veal persisted in her request, and told Mrs. Bargrave she must not deny her; and she would have her tell her brother all their conversation when she had an opportunity. "Dear Mrs. Veal," said Mrs. Bargrave, "this seems so impertinent that I cannot tell how to comply with it; and what a mortifying story will our conversation be to a young gentleman!" "Well," says Mrs. Veal, "I must not be denied." "Why," says Mrs. Bargrave, "'t is much better, methinks, to do it yourself." "No," says Mrs. Veal, "though it seems impertinent to you now, you will see more reason for it hereafter." Mrs. Bargrave then, to satisfy her importunity, was going to fetch a pen and ink; but Mrs. Veal said, "Let it alone now, and do it when I am gone; but you must be sure to do it;" which was one of the last things she enjoined her at parting; and so she promised her.

Then Mrs. Veal asked for Mrs. Bargrave's daughter. She said she was not at home, "but if you have a mind to see her," says Mrs. Bargrave, "I'll send for her." "Do," says Mrs. Veal. On which she left her, and went to a neighbour's to send for her; and by the time Mrs. Bargrave was returning, Mrs. Veal was got without the door in the street, in the face of

the beast-market, on a Saturday (which is market-day), and stood ready to part as soon as Mrs. Bargrave came to her. She asked her why she was in such haste. She said she must be going, though perhaps she might not go her journey until Monday; and told Mrs. Bargrave she hoped she should see her again at her cousin Watson's before she went whither she was a-going. Then she said she would take her leave of her, and walked from Mrs. Bargrave in her view, till a turning interrupted the sight of her, which was three-quarters after one in the afternoon.

Mrs. Veal died the 7th of September, at twelve o'clock at noon, of her fits, and had not above four hours' senses before death, in which time she received the sacrament. The next day after Mrs. Veal's appearing, being Sunday, Mrs. Bargrave was mightily indisposed with a cold and a sore throat, that she could not go out that day; but on Monday morning she sends a person to Captain Watson's to know if Mrs. Veal were there. They wondered at Mrs. Bargrave's inquiry, and sent her word that she was not there, nor was expected. At this answer, Mrs. Bargrave told the maid she had certainly mistook the name, or made some blunder. And though she was ill, she put on her hood, and went herself to Captain Watson's, though she knew none of the family, to see if Mrs. Veal was there or not. They said they wondered at her asking, for that she had not been in town; they were sure, if she had, she would have been there. Says Mrs. Bargrave, "I am sure she was with me on Saturday almost two hours." They said it was impossible; for they must have seen her, if

she had. In comes Captain Watson while they are in dispute, and said that Mrs. Veal was certainly dead, and her escutcheons were making. This strangely surprised Mrs. Bargrave, who went to the person immediately who had the care of them, and found it true. Then she related the whole story to Captain Watson's family, and what gown she had on, and how striped, and that Mrs. Veal told her it was scoured. Then Mrs. Watson cried out, "You have seen her indeed, for none knew but Mrs. Veal and myself that the gown was scoured." And Mrs. Watson owned that she described the gown exactly; "for," said she, "I helped her to make it up." This Mrs. Watson blazed all about the town, and avouched the demonstration of the truth of Mrs. Bargrave's seeing Mrs. Veal's apparition; and Captain Watson carried two gentlemen immediately to Mrs. Bargrave's house to hear the relation from her own mouth. And then it spread so fast that gentlemen and persons of quality, the judicious and sceptical part of the world, flocked in upon her, which at last became such a task that she was forced to go out of the way; for they were in general extremely satisfied of the truth of the thing, and plainly saw that Mrs. Bargrave was no hypochondriac, for she always appears with such a cheerful air and pleasing mien, that she has gained the favour and esteem of all the gentry, and 'tis thought a great favour if they can but get the relation from her own mouth. I should have told you before that Mrs. Veal told Mrs. Bargrave that her sister and brother-in-law were just come down from London to see her. Says Mrs. Bargrave, "How

came you to order matters so strangely?" "It could not be helped," says Mrs. Veal. And her sister and brother did come to see her, and entered the town of Dover just as Mrs. Veal was expiring. Mrs. Bargrave asked her whether she would drink some tea. Says Mrs. Veal, "I do not care if I do; but I'll warrant this mad fellow" (meaning Mrs. Bargrave's husband) "has broke all your trinkets." "But," says Mrs. Bargrave, "I'll get something to drink in for all that." But Mrs. Veal waived it, and said, "It is no matter; let it alone;" and so it passed.

All the time I sat with Mrs. Bargrave, which was some hours, she recollected fresh sayings of Mrs. Veal. And one material thing more she told Mrs. Bargrave — that old Mr. Breton allowed Mrs. Veal ten pounds a year, which was a secret, and unknown to Mrs. Bargrave till Mrs. Veal told it her. Mrs. Bargrave never varies in her story, which puzzles those who doubt of the truth, or are unwilling to believe it. A servant in a neighbour's yard adjoining to Mrs. Bargrave's house heard her talking to somebody an hour of the time Mrs. Veal was with her. Mrs. Bargrave went out to her next neighbour's the very moment she parted with Mrs. Veal, and told what ravishing conversation she had with an old friend, and told the whole of it. Drelincourt's "Book of Death" is, since this happened, bought up strangely. And it is to be observed that, notwithstanding all this trouble and fatigue Mrs. Bargrave has undergone upon this account, she never took the value of a farthing, nor suffered her daughter to take anything of anybody, and therefore can have no interest in telling the story.

But Mr. Veal does what he can to stifle the matter, and said he would see Mrs. Bargrave; but yet it is certain matter of fact that he has been at Captain Watson's since the death of his sister, and yet never went near Mrs. Bargrave; and some of his friends report her to be a great liar, and that she knew of Mr. Breton's ten pounds a year. But the person who pretends to say so has the reputation of a notorious liar among persons whom I know to be of undoubted repute. Now, Mr. Veal is more a gentleman than to say she lies, but says a bad husband has crazed her; but she needs only to present herself, and it will effectually confute that pretence. Mr. Veal says he asked his sister on her death-bed whether she had a mind to dispose of anything, and she said no. Now, the things which Mrs. Veal's apparition would have disposed of were so trifling, and nothing of justice aimed at in their disposal, that the design of it appears to me to be only in order to make Mrs. Bargrave so to demonstrate the truth of her appearance, as to satisfy the world of the reality thereof as to what she had seen and heard, and to secure her reputation among the reasonable and understanding part of mankind. And then again, Mr. Veal owns that there was a purse of gold; but it was not found in her cabinet, but in a comb-box. This looks improbable; for that Mrs. Watson owned that Mrs. Veal was so very careful of the key of her cabinet, that she would trust nobody with it; and if so, no doubt she would not trust her gold out of it. And Mrs. Veal's often drawing her hand over her eyes, and asking Mrs. Bargrave whether her fits

had not impaired her, looks to me as if she did it on purpose to remind Mrs. Bargrave of her fits, to prepare her not to think it strange that she should put her upon writing to her brother to dispose of rings and gold, which looked so much like a dying person's request; and it took accordingly with Mrs. Bargrave, as the effects of her fits coming upon her; and was one of the many instances of her wonderful love to her, and care of her, that she should not be affrighted; which indeed appears in her whole management, particularly in her coming to her in the daytime, waiving the salutation, and when she was alone; and then the manner of her parting, to prevent a second attempt to salute her.

Now, why Mr. Veal should think this relation a reflection (as 't is plain he does by his endeavouring to stifle it) I can't imagine, because the generality believe her to be a good spirit, her discourse was so heavenly. Her two great errands were to comfort Mrs. Bargrave in her affliction, and to ask her forgiveness for her breach of friendship, and with a pious discourse to encourage her. So that, after all, to suppose that Mrs. Bargrave could hatch such an invention as this from Friday noon till Saturday noon (supposing that she knew of Mrs. Veal's death the very first moment), without jumbling circumstances, and without any interest too, she must be more witty, fortunate, and wicked too, than any indifferent person, I dare say, will allow. I asked Mrs. Bargrave several times if she was sure she felt the gown. She answered modestly, "If my senses be to be relied on, I am sure of it." I asked her if she heard a sound

when she clapped her hand upon her knee. She said she did not remember she did; and she said, "She appeared to be as much a substance as I did, who talked with her; and I may," said she, "be as soon persuaded that your apparition is talking to me now as that I did not really see her; for I was under no manner of fear; I received her as a friend, and parted with her as such. I would not," says she, "give one farthing to make any one believe it; I have no interest in it. Nothing but trouble is entailed upon me for a long time, for aught I know; and had it not come to light by accident, it would never have been made public." But now she says she will make her own private use of it, and keep herself out of the way as much as she can; and so she has done since. She says she had a gentleman who came thirty miles to her to hear the relation, and that she had told it to a room full of people at a time. Several particular gentlemen have had the story from Mrs. Bargrave's own mouth.

This thing has very much affected me, and I am as well satisfied as I am of the best grounded matter of fact. And why we should dispute matter of fact because we cannot solve things of which we have no certain or demonstrative notions, seems strange to me. Mrs. Bargrave's authority and sincerity alone would have been undoubted in any other case.

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE ISLE OF ST. VINCENT

The DESTRUCTION OF THE ISLE OF ST. VINCENT

(*From "Mist's Journal," July* 5, 1718.)

WE have a piece of public news this time of such consequence, and so necessary for all our readers to be fully acquainted with, that our friends who have written several letters to us, which otherwise deserve publishing, must excuse us for this week.

This relates to the entire desolation of the island of St. Vincent, in the West Indies, by the immediate hand of Nature, directed by Providence, and in a manner astonishing to all the world, the like of which never happened since the Creation, or, at least, since the destruction of the earth by water in the general Deluge.

Our accounts of this come from so many several hands, and several places, that it would be impossible to bring the letters all separately into this journal; and when we had done so, or attempted to do so, would have the story confused, and the world not perfectly informed. We have therefore thought it better to give the substance of this amazing accident in one collection, making together as full and as distinct account of the whole as we believe is possible to come at by any intelligence whatsoever; and at the close of this account we shall give some proba-

ble guesses at the natural cause of so terrible an operation. The relation is as follows, viz. : —

An account of the island of St. Vincent, in the West Indies, and of its entire destruction on the 26th of March last, with some rational suggestions concerning the causes and manner of it.

The island of St. Vincent is the most populous of any possessed by the Caribbeans ; its latitude is sixteen degrees north from the line. Those who have seen the island Ferro or Fietre, one of the Canaries, affirm that this is much of the same figure. It may be about eight leagues in length, and six in breadth. There are in it several high mountains, and very fruitful plains, if they were cultivated. The Caribbeans have many fair villages, where they live pleasantly, and without any disturbance ; and though they have a jealousy of strangers, yet do they not deny them the bread of the country, which is cossava, water, fruits, and other provisions growing in their country, if they want them, taking in exchange wedges, hooks, and other implements of iron, which they much esteem.

On the 24th March a French sloop arrived at Martinico that passed by the island of St. Vincent the 22nd, and, as the master reported, he bought some fish of some of the savages who inhabited there, and who came off to him in three canoes. He says that all was safe and in very good condition there, for anything he perceived, only that some of his seamen report, since the disaster, that one of the Indians told

them they had been terribly frighted with earthquakes for some time, and with flashes of fire like lightning, which did not come out of the clouds as usual, but out of the earth; and that they had felt these earthquakes for a month past, to their very great amazement.

On the 27th, in the morning, the air was darkened in a dreadful manner; which darkness, by all accounts, seems to have extended over all the colonies and islands which were within 100 miles of the place, but was perceived to be more or less dark as those islands were farther or nearer from the place.

But that which is most remarkable of all is, that at some of the islands, and at Martinico in particular, a dreadful flash of lightning, as they called it, was seen on the 26th about eleven o'clock at night. This flash, which they called lightning, we shall account for in the following part of this relation.

It is to be observed, in the next place, that as there were several ships, or other vessels at sea, in several ports among the islands, some of these had a more terrible sight of this thing than others; particularly they write that in one sloop, which is come into Martinico, the men are so terrified still, and were so amazed at what they saw and heard, that they appear perfectly stupefied, and gave little or no account. Others are come into other ports so horribly frighted that they scarce retain their senses; others give confused accounts, and so, more or less distinct, as they were nearer or farther from the place; the sum of what may be gathered from them all is this: —

That they saw in the night that terrible flash of fire, and after that they heard innumerable clashes

of thunder — some say it was thunder they heard — others that it was cannon — only that the noise was a thousand times as loud as thunder or cannon, considering that it appeared to be at a great distance from them.

That the next morning, when the day began to break, the air looked dismally, viz., all overhead was a deep, impenetrable darkness; but below, all round the edge of the horizon, it looked as if the heavens were all on fire. As the day came on, still the darkness increased, till it was far darker than it had been in any part of the night before; and, as they thought, the cloud descended upon them. The darkness still increased after this, viz., in the afternoon they were surprised with the falling of something upon them as thick as smoke, but fine as dust, and yet solid as sand; this fell thicker and faster as they were nearer or farther off — some ships had it nine inches, others a foot thick, upon their decks; the island of Martinico is covered with it at about seven to nine inches thick; at Barbadoes it is frightful, even to St. Christopher's it exceeded four inches; it is fallen over the whole extent of the Isle of Hispaniola, and there is no doubt but it has been seen on the continent of New Spain, about the point of Guiana, or the mouth of the Orinoco; all which will perhaps be accounted for in some measure in the following narrative.

This continued falling for two or three days and nights successively; and it was impossible for any man to find out or so much as guess at the meaning of it, or of any natural cause to produce it, till the whole came to discover itself; but all people stood amazed

at the cause, and several letters were sent to England of it, from Barbadoes in particular; as of a strange miraculous shower of sand, of which we gave an account in our journal of the 20th past. The first news that was given of the whole thing was by some vessels that were under sail, in the night of the 26th, belonging to Martinico, by which we had the following particulars: that on the said 26th, about midnight, the whole island of St. Vincent rose up into the air, with a most dreadful eruption of fire from underneath the earth and an inconceivable noise in the air at its rising up; that it was not only blown up, but blown out of the very sea, with a dreadful force, as it were torn up by the roots, or blown up from the foundations of the earth.

That the terror was inexpressible, and cannot be represented by words; that the noise of the bursting of the earth at first is not possible to be described; that the force of the blow or blast was such, and the whole body of the island was raised so furiously, that the earth was entirely separated into small particles like dust; and as it rose to an immense height, so it spread itself to an incredible distance, and fell light and gradually, like a small but thick mist. This part, we suppose, must be occasioned by the force of the blow effectually separating the parts, otherwise they would have fallen with a violence of motion, proportioned to the weight of the whole, the particles pressing one another; whereas now every grain was loose and independent in the air, and fell no faster than it was pressed by its own weight, as in a shower of snow or rain.

The more solid parts of this land, which were lifted up by this blast, and supposed to be of stone, slate, or clay, or such solid matter as would not dissipate or separate in the air, like the rest, being lifted to an immense height, and then plunging, by a mighty force, received by their own weight, into the sea, must of necessity make a noise or blow equal to that of the loudest cannon, and perhaps to thunder itself; and these we think to be the several reports or blows which were heard even to St. Christopher's Island (which is a vast distance from that of St. Vincent), and of which the people in these islands, as well as in the ships, heard about a thousand or twelve hundred distinct blows or reports, and supposed it to be the noise of guns.

As soon as it was understood by the inhabitants in other islands what it was, that is to say, that it was an eruption of the earth at the island of St. Vincent or thereabouts, sloops, barks, and other small vessels came from all parts to see how it was, to inquire into the damage suffered, and to get an account of the particulars; but how astonished must these inquirers be when, meeting from all parts upon the same errand, they may be supposed to go cruising about to find the island, some examining their books to cast up the length they had sailed, some blaming their own negligence for not keeping a right reckoning, some their men for mistaking their distance, others taking observations to know the latitude they were in; at last, all concluding, as it really was, to their great confusion, that the said island was *no more*; that there appeared no remains, except

three little rocks, no, not any tokens that such an island had been there; but that, on the contrary, in the place of it, the sea was excessive deep, and no bottom to be found at two hundred fathom.

As this is an event so wonderful as no history can give us an account of the like, so it cannot be unpleasant to our readers to consider briefly some natural causes which may be assigned for it.

An earthquake it cannot be — though that is the first thing which offers to our view. Had the island sunk into the water, it had been well enough accounted for in that way; nor are we without examples in history, when earthquakes have raised islands where they had not been seen before, as particularly in the Archipelago, and sunk islands which have been, so that they have been seen no more, as is said of the great island Atlantis, from which some fancy the Atlantic Ocean received its name.

But for an island to be blown up into the air as if it were undermined and blown up by gunpowder, like a bastion in a town besieged, and for the force to be such as to blow up the solid earth into the third region, as we may say — to such a stupendous, prodigious height as to have it go up an island, and come down in sand; to go up in bulk, and come down in atoms; to go up perpendicular, and be spread about to a hundred miles' distance — this is unaccountable but by some force superior to that of ten millions of barrels of gunpowder.

Some, we hear, by casting up the dimensions of the island, to reduce it to cubical inches, are pretending to tell us what weight of earth this blast has

raised up, and consequently would tell us what force it was that must raise it; but this is a perfectly needless inquiry, and many ways impracticable also.

But it may not be an unfruitful search if we endeavour to inquire, and offer some probable essay at the manner, how such a wonderful thing as this is in Nature has been, or may be, performed. There seems to be only two several ways for us to conceive of the possibility of such a thing — we mean, by the ordinary course of Nature, and concurrence of causes.

What infinite Power, who made the world, may be supposed to do, we have nothing to say to, nor is it to our purpose in this case to inquire into it.

Infinite Power might as easily blow this whole earth up and dissipate every part of it into the first atoms, from which it may be supposed to have been made, as He could, by the power of His word, form this beautiful figure from the unshaped chaos; but this, we say, is out of the present question.

Our inquiry is into natural and probable causes which might produce such a terrible eruption in Nature as this has been, the like whereof was never heard of before.

First, a concurrence or conjunction of sulphureous and nitrous particles in the subterranean caverns of the earth, of which some might happen to be under this island, of a vast extent, according to the quantity of which particles the force would be; and there 's no question but that these particles taking air, by some chasm or vent given to them by some accident of an earthquake or otherwise, might be able to perform this terrible operation.

As to the nature of an earthquake, it is needless to enter into inquiries here of a thing so well known, or to prove that this might open the hollows and vast caverns in the bowels of the earth, at a great depth, perhaps many hundred fathoms under the bottom of the sea; for as an earthquake effects a dislocation of the parts, it is most natural to suppose it might so open those subterranean hollows, so as to bring air to those particles which were before big with that contracted fire, which, when dilated, would blow up all above them.

The second method in Nature by which this may be supposed to be performed, might be subterranean fires, which, having kindled themselves in the body of the earth, do, in several places, extend themselves to a prodigious space, and often discover to us, more or less, as their magnitude or distance from the surface of the earth may be, sometimes by warming the springs of water which flow near them (from whence our hot baths and warm springs of water are produced), other times by volcanoes or burning mountains, as Mount Gibell or Etna, in Sicily; Mount Vesuvius, near Naples; and Strombolo; Mount Hecla, in Iceland, and the like.

Supposing, then, by the shocks of an earthquake near the cavities where these treasures of fire are reserved, the earth may be opened so as that the sea might come pouring into the vast body of fire, which we may imagine to be kindled there, and which may have burned several hundred years — this, having no vent, would not fail to blow up, not such an island as St. Vincent only, but an

island forty times as big in proportion to the extent of the fire below, and to the quantity of water which might come in; and this we believe is the only way we can account for the dreadful eruptions which sometimes happen in those burning mountains mentioned above, and of which we have not room to enlarge here.

The experiment of this may be made familiar by the throwing a pail of water hastily into a furnace—suppose such as a brewer's furnace—which will immediately burst out again, with a violence proportioned to the quantity of water; and, if it were possible, at the same time, to shut the door of the furnace, the force of it would blow up all above it. This also may be illustrated, with great exactness to our imagination, by reflecting on a very sad accident which happened not many years ago in London, and which most people have heard of, viz., at the foundry at Windmill Hill, by Moorfields, where the metal for the casting of a great gun, running into a mould ill prepared, and which had received some water, though by the relation of all concerned in it, and that were alive, that water, by the cavity of the mould, could not be equal to a gallon, yet it blew up the whole work, and blew the melted metal up, as light as if it had been the lightest earth, throwing it about the whole place, separated in small parts like drops, so that it overwhelmed, as with a shower of molten brass, those that were near, and almost all who were in the place were either killed or terribly hurt with it.

We have not room to say any more of this affair

in this paper: we shall only add, that as by either of these two ways this terrible event of blowing up the island of St. Vincent may be supposed possible in Nature, so we do believe that all the philosophers in the world cannot find a third.

THE END.

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INTRODUCTION

IN this last volume of the present edition will be found various accounts of notorious criminals who lived in Defoe's later years. All these accounts, which came out in pamphlet form, are circumstantial narrative in Defoe's usual graphic style; and most of them are capital reading for any one who finds interest in the deeds of desperate ruffians. With the exception of *Captain Avery*, *The Cartoucheans*, and the *Six Notorious Street-Robbers*, the pieces in this volume were published by Applebee, with whose *Original Weekly Journal* Defoe was connected from 1720 to 1726. For this paper, Defoe wrote a good many short accounts of criminals. Mr. Lee was of the opinion that these, and the longer accounts, including *Moll Flanders* and *Colonel Jacque*, were written for a highly moral purpose. According to him, the author hoped that these narratives, thanks to their showy title-pages, would attract many readers among the criminal class, and that, thanks to the moral reflections interspersed, they would lead these readers to the conclusion, "that virtue alone secures happiness; and that, while life remains, it is never too late to mend."[1] I myself cannot but think the flaunting title-pages designed quite as much to catch pennies as to save souls.

[1] *Daniel Defoe*, London, 1869, I., p. 344.

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The first story in this volume is *The King of Pirates: Being an account of the Famous Enterprizes of Captain Avery, the Mock King of Madagascar; with his Rambles and Piracies, wherein all the Sham Accounts formerly published of him are detected. In two Letters from himself, one during his Stay at Madagascar, and one since his Escape from thence. Captain Avery* is interesting not only for itself but also for being the first sketch for part of *Captain Singleton.*

The second of the tales in this volume rejoices in a characteristically long title: — *A Narrative of the Proceedings in France, for Discovering and Detecting the Murderers of the English Gentlemen, September* 21, 1723, *Near Calais. With an Account of the Condemnation and Sentence of Joseph Bizeau and Peter Le Febvre, Two Notorious Robbers, who were the principal Actors in the said Murder; particularly in the Killing Mr. Lock. Together with their Discovery and manner of perpetrating that execrable Murder; and also large Memoirs of their Behaviour during their Torture, and upon the Scaffold; their impeaching Several other Criminals, and a brief History of their Past Crimes, as well in Company with their former Captain, the famous Cartouche, as Since his Execution. In which is a great Variety of Remarkable Incidents, and Surprizing Circumstances, never yet made Publick. Translated from the French.*

The third and fourth pieces of this collection are concerned with the life of John Sheppard, one of the most famous robbers of the eighteenth century, who was hanged when still a youth not quite twenty-two.

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The execution took place in November, 1724.[1] On the nineteenth of the preceding month, Applebee had published *The History of the Remarkable Life of John Sheppard; containing a Particular Account of his many Robberies and Escapes, &c., &c. Including his last Escape from the Castle at Newgate.* The second account of Sheppard was published about a month later on the day after his execution. It is in the autobiographical form common to picaresque tales, and it makes the supposed writer point out a mistake in the history of Sheppard's first robbery as given in the previous *Life.* This is no reason, however, for supposing that Defoe did not write both pieces. The full title of the later one was as follows:—

A Narrative of all the Robberies, Escapes, &c. of John Sheppard, Giving an Exact Description of the Manner of his Wonderful Escape from the Castle in Newgate, and of the Methods he took afterward for his Security. Written by himself during his confinement in the Middle Stone Room, after his being retaken in Drury Lane. To which is Prefix'd a true Representation of his Escape, from the condemned Hold, Curiously Engraven on a Copper Plate. The whole Published at the particular request of the Prisoner.

The title of the fifth tale of this collection, according to Mr. Lee, is *The True, Genuine, and Perfect Account of the Life and Actions of Jonathan Wild. Taken from good Authority, and from his own Writings.* It was published in June, 1725. Wild was a most unprincipled thief-taker and a receiver of

[1] Sheppard was born in December, 1702, and hanged on November 16th, 1724.

stolen goods, who had been executed in the previous May. He is best known to-day as the hero of Fielding's satire, *The History of the Life of the Late Mr. Jonathan Wild the Great.* Most of the experiences of Fielding's Wild, however, were imaginary.

The sixth piece in this book is *An Account of the Conduct and Proceedings of the late John Gow, alias Smith, Captain of the late Pirates, executed for Murther and Piracy, committed on Board the George Galley, afterwards called the Revenge; with a Relation of all the horrid Murthers they committed in Cold Blood. As also of their being taken at the Islands of Orkney, and sent up Prisoners to London.* The hero of this tale, John Gow, or Goffe, or Smith, was a pirate who came to the Orkneys in the winter of 1724–5. There he became engaged to a young lady, who was said to have considerable property. His capture was effected in the way related by Defoe. Gow's history suggested *The Pirate*[1] to Scott, who visited the Orkneys in the summer and autumn of 1814 by invitation of a party of commissioners for the Northern Light-House Service. According to his own account, Scott learned "the history of Gow the pirate from an old sibyl."[2]

The last piece in this volume is *A brief historical Account of the Lives of the six notorious Street Robbers executed at Kingston, viz., William Blewet, Edward Bunworth, Emanuel Dickenson, Thomas Berry, John Higgs, and John Legee.* Though this was not included by Mr. Lee in his bibliography of

[1] Cf. the Advertisement to the first edition, 1821.

[2] Introduction to the 1831 edition of *The Pirate.*

INTRODUCTION

Defoe's works, internal evidence — such as mannerisms of style, reference to glass-houses (which furnished warm sleeping places for poor boys, as in *Colonel Jacque*) and the like — declares this almost certainly Defoe's.

G. H. MAYNADIER.

THE PREFACE

ONE of the particular advantages of the following letters from Captain Avery is the satisfaction they will give the readers how much they have been imposed upon in the former ridiculous and extravagant accounts which have been put upon the world in what has been published already.

It has been enough to the writers of this man's life, as they call it, that they could put anything together to make a kind of monstrous unheard-of story as romantic as the reports that have been spread about of him; and the more those stories appeared monstrous and incredible, the more suitable they seemed to be to what the world would have been made to expect of Captain Avery.

There is always a great difference between what men say of themselves, and what others say for them, when they come to write historically of the transactions of their lives.

The publisher of these letters recommends this performance to the readers, to make their judgment of the difference between them and the extravagant stories already told, and which is most likely to be genuine; and, as they verily believe these letters to be the best and truest account of Captain Avery's

piracies that ever has or ever will come to the knowledge of the world, they recommend them as such, and doubt not but they will answer for themselves in the reading.

The account given of Captain Avery's taking the Great Mogul's daughter, ravishing and murdering her, and all the ladies of her retinue, is so differently related here, and so extravagantly related before, that it cannot but be a satisfaction to the most unconcerned reader to find such a horrible piece of villainy, as the other was supposed to be, not to have been committed in the world.

On the contrary, we find here that, except plundering that princess of her jewels and money to a prodigious value, a thing which, falling into the hands of freebooters, every one that had the misfortune to fall into such hands would expect; but that, excepting this, the lady was used with all the decency and humanity, and perhaps with more than ever women falling among pirates had found before, especially considering that, by report, she was a most beautiful and agreeable person herself, as were also several of those about her.

The booty taken with her, though infinitely great in itself, yet has been so magnified beyond commonsense, that it makes all the rest that has been said of those things ridiculous and absurd.

The like absurdity in the former relations of this matter is that of the making an offer of, I know not how many millions, to the late Queen for Captain Avery's pardon, with a petition to the Queen, and her Majesty's negative answer; all which are as

much true as his being master of so many millions of money which he nor his gang never had, and of his being proclaimed King of Madagascar, marrying the Mogul's daughter, and the like. And, by-the-bye, it was but ill laid together of those who published, that he first ravished her, then murdered her, and then married her; all which are very remarkable for the recommending the thing to those that read it.

If these stories are explained here and duly exposed, and the history of Captain Avery set in a fairer light, the end is answered; and of this the readers are to be the only judges. But this may be said without any arrogance, that this story, stripped of all the romantic, improbable, and impossible parts of it, looks more like the history of Captain Avery than anything yet published ever has done; and if it is not proved that the captain wrote these letters himself, the publisher says none but the captain himself will ever be able to mend them.

THE KING OF PIRATES

1

THE KING *of* PIRATES

YOU may be sure I received with resentment enough the account that a most ridiculous book, entitled, "My Life and Adventures," had been published in England, being fully assured nothing of truth could be contained in such a work; and though it may be true that my extravagant story may be the proper foundation of a romance, yet as no man has a title to publish it better than I have to expose and contradict it, I send you this by one of my particular friends, who, having an opportunity of returning into England, has promised to convey it faithfully to you, by which at least two things shall be made good to the world: first, that they shall be satisfied in the scandalous and unjust manner in which others have already treated me, and it shall give, in the meantime, a larger account of what may at present be fit to be made public of my unhappy though successful adventures.

I shall not trouble my friends with anything of my original and first introduction into the world, I leave it to you to add from yourself what you think proper to be known on that subject; only this I enjoin you to take notice of, that the account printed of me, with all the particulars of my marriage, my being defrauded, and leaving my family and native country on that account, is a mere fable and a made story, to embellish, as the writer of it perhaps supposed, the rest of his story, or perhaps to fill up the book, that it might swell to a magnitude which his barren invention could not supply.

THE KING OF PIRATES

In the present account, I have taken no notice of my birth, infancy, youth, or any of that part; which, as it was the most useless part of my years to myself, so 't is the most useless to any one that shall read this work to know, being altogether barren of anything remarkable in itself or instructing to others. It is sufficient to me to let the world know, as above, that the former accounts made public are utterly false, and to begin my account of myself at a period which may be more useful and entertaining.

It may be true that I may represent some particulars of my life in this tract with reserve or enlargement, such as may be sufficient to conceal anything in my present circumstance that ought to be concealed and reserved with respect to my own safety; and therefore, if on pretence of justice the busy world should look for me in one part of the world when I am in another, search for my new kingdom in Madagascar, and should not find it, or search for my settlement on one side of the island when it lies on another, they must not take this ill, for self-preservation being the supreme law of nature, all things of this kind must submit to that.

In order, then, to come immediately to my story, I shall, without any circumlocutions, give you leave to tell the world that, being bred to the sea from a youth, none of those romantic introductions published had any share in my adventures, or were any way the cause of my taking the courses I have since been embarked in; but as, in several parts of my wandering life, I had seen something of the immense wealth which the buccaneers and other adventurers met with in their scouring about the world for purchase, I had for a long time meditated in my thoughts to get possessed of a good ship for that purpose if I could, and to try my fortune. I had been some years in the Bay of Campeachy, and

though with patience I endured the fatigue of that laborious life, yet it was as visible to others as to myself that I was not formed by nature for a log-wood-cutter any more than I was for a foremast-man; and therefore night and day I applied myself to study how I should dismiss myself from that drudgery, and get to be, first or last, master of a good ship, which was the utmost of my ambition at that time; resolving in the meantime that whenever any such thing should happen, I would try my fortune in the cruising trade, but would be sure not to prey upon my own countrymen.

It was many years after this before I could bring my purposes to pass; and I served first in some of the adventures of Captain Sharp, Captain Hawkins, and others, in their bold adventures in the South Seas, where I got a very good booty; was at the taking of Puna, where we were obliged to leave infinite wealth behind us for want of being able to bring it away; and, after several adventures in those seas, was among that party who fought their way, sword in hand, through all the detachments of the Spaniards, in the journey overland, across the isthmus of Darien to the North Seas; and when other of our men got away, some one way, some another, I, with twelve more of our men, by help of a periagua, got into the Bay of Campeachy, where we fell very honestly to cutting of logwood, not for want, but to employ ourselves till we could make off.

Here three of our men died, and we that were left shared their money among us; and having stayed here two years, without seeing any way of escape that I dared to trust to, I at last, with two of our men who spoke Spanish perfectly well, made a desperate attempt to travel overland to L——, having buried all our money (which was worth eight thousand pieces of eight a man, though most of it in gold) in a pit in

the earth, which we dug twelve foot deep, and where it would have lain still, for no man knew where to look for it; but we had an opportunity to come at it again some years after.

We travelled along the seashore five days together, the weather exceeding hot, and did not doubt but we should so disguise ourselves as to be taken for Spaniards; but our better fortune provided otherwise for us, for the sixth day of our march we found a canoe lying on the shore with no one in her. We found, however, several things in her which told us plainly that she belonged to some Englishmen who were on shore, so we resolved to sit down by her and wait. By-and-by we heard the Englishmen, who were seven in number, and were coming back to their boat, having been up the country to an ingenio, where they had gotten great quantities of provision, and were bringing it down to their boat which they had left on the shore (with the help of five Indians, of whom they had bought it), not thinking there was any people thereabouts. When they saw us, not knowing who we were, they were just going to fire at us; when I, perceiving it, held up a white flag as high as I could reach it, which was, in short, only a piece of an old linen waistcoat which I had on, and pulled it off for the occasion. Upon this, however, they forbore firing at us, and when they came nearer to us, they could easily see that we were their own countrymen. They inquired of us what we came there for. We told them we had travelled from Campeachy, where, being tired with the hardships of our fortune, and not getting any vessel to carry us where we durst go, we were even desperate and cared not what became of us; so that had not they come to us thus happily, we should have put ourselves into the hands of the Spaniards rather than have perished where we were.

They took us into their boat, and afterwards

carried us on board their ship. When we came there we found they were a worse sort of wanderers than ourselves; for though we had been a kind of pirates, known and declared enemies to the Spaniards, yet it was to them only and to no other; for we never offered to rob any of our other European nations, either Dutch or French, much less English; but now we were listed in the service of the devil indeed, and, like him, were at war with all mankind.

However, we not only were obliged to sort with them while with them, but in a little time the novelty of the crime wore off, and we grew hardened to it like the rest; and in this service I spent four years more of my time.

Our captain in this pirate ship was named Nichols, but we called him Captain Redhand; it seems it was a Scotch sailor gave him that name when he was not the head of the crew, because he was so bloody a wretch that he scarce ever was at the taking any prize, but he had a hand in some butchery or other.

They were hard put to it for fresh provisions, or they would not have sent thus up into the country a single canoe; and when I came on board they were so straitened, that, by my advice, they resolved to go to the Isle of Cuba to kill wild beef, of which the south side of the island is so full. Accordingly we sailed thither directly.

The vessel carried sixteen guns, but was fitted to carry twenty-two, and there was on board one hundred and sixty stout fellows, as bold and as case-hardened for the work as ever I met with upon any occasion whatever. We victualled in this place for eight months by our calculation; but our cook, who had the management of the salting and pickling the beef, ordered his matters so, that had he been let alone he would have starved us all and poisoned us too; for as we are obliged to hunt the black cattle

in the island sometimes a great while before we can shoot them, it should be observed that the flesh of those that are heated before they are killed is not fit to be pickled or salted up for keeping.

But this man, happening to pickle up the beef without regard to this particular distinction, most of the beef so pickled stunk before we left the place, so that we were obliged to throw it all away. The men then said it was impossible to salt any beef in those hot countries so as to preserve it, and would have had us given it over, and have gone to the coast of New England or New York for provisions; but I soon convinced them of the mistake, and by only using the caution, viz., not to salt up any beef of those cattle that had been hunted, we cured one hundred and forty barrels of very good beef, and such as lasted us a very great while.

I began to be of some repute among them upon this occasion, and Redhand took me into the cabin with him to consult upon all emergencies, and gave me the name of captain, though I had then no command. By this means I gave him an account of all my adventures in the South Seas, and what a prodigious booty we got there with Captain Goignet, the Frenchman, and with Captain Sharp, and others, encouraging him to make an attempt that way, and proposing to him to go away to the Brazils, and so round by the Straits of Magellan or Cape Horn.

However, in this he was more prudent than I, and told me that not only the strength but the force of his ship was too small; not but that he had men enough, as he said, very well, but he wanted more guns and a better ship, for, indeed, the ship we were in was but a weak crazy boat for so long a voyage; so he said he approved my project very well, but that he thought we should try to take some more substantial vessel for the business. And, says he, if

we could but take a good stout ship, fit to carry thirty guns, and a sloop or brigantine, he would go with all his heart.

This I could not but approve of; so we formed the scheme of the design, and he called all his men together and proposed it to them, and they all approved it with a general consent; and I had the honour of being the contriver of the voyage. From this time we resolved, somehow or other, to get a better ship under us, and it was not long before an opportunity presented to our mind.

Being now upon the coast of the island of Cuba, we stood away west, coasting the island, and so went away for Florida, where we cruised among the islands, and in the wake of the gulf, but nothing presented a great while. At length we spied a sail, which proved an English homeward-bound ship from Jamaica. We immediately chased her and came up with her; she was a stout ship, and the captain defended her very well, and had she not been a cumbered deep ship, being full loaded so that they could scarce come at their guns, we should have had our hands full of her. But when they found what we were, and that, being full of men, we were resolved to be on board them, and that we had hoisted the black flag, a signal that we would give them no quarter, they began to sink in their spirits, and soon after cried quarter, offering to yield. Redhand would have given them no quarter, but, according to his usual practice, would have thrown the men all into the sea; but I prevailed with him to give them quarter, and good usage too, and so they yielded, and a very rich prize it was, only that we knew not what to do with the cargo.

When we came to consider more seriously the circumstances we were in by taking this ship, and what we should do with her, we found that she was not only deep loaden, but was a very heavy sailer, and

that, in short, she was not such a ship as we wanted. So, upon long debate, we resolved to take out of her all the rum, the indigo, and the money we could come at, with about twenty casks of sugar, and twelve of her guns, with all the ammunition, small arms, bullets, &c., and let her go, which was accordingly done, to the great joy of the captain that commanded her. However, we took in her about six thousand pounds sterling in pieces of eight.

But the next prize we met suited us better on all accounts, being a ship from Kinsale, in Ireland, loaden with beef and butter and beer for Barbados. Never was ship more welcome to men in our circumstances; this was the very thing we wanted. We saw the ship early in the morning at about five leagues' distance, and we was three days in chase of her. She stood from us as if she would have run away for the Cape de Verde Islands, and two or three times we thought she sailed so well she would have got away from us, but we had always the good luck to get sight of her in the morning. She was about 260 ton, an English frigate-built ship, and had twelve guns on board, but could carry twenty. The commander was a Quaker, but yet had he been equal to us in force, it appeared by his countenance he would not have been afraid of his flesh, or have baulked using the carnal weapon of offence, viz., the cannon-ball.

We soon made ourselves master of this ship when once we came up with her, and she was everything that we wanted; so we began to shift our guns into her, and shifted about sixty ton of her butter and beef into our own frigate. This made the Irish vessel be a clear ship, lighter in the water, and have more room on board for fight if occasion offered.

When we had the old Quaking skipper on board, we asked him whether he would go along with us. He gave us no answer at first; but when we asked

him again, he returned that he did not know whether it might be safe for him to answer the question. We told him he should either go or stay as he pleased. "Why, then," says he, "I had rather ye will give me leave to decline it."

We gave him leave, and accordingly set him on shore afterwards at Nevis with ten of his men. The rest went along with us as volunteers, except the carpenter and his mate and the surgeon; those we took by force. We were now supplied as well as heart could wish, had a large ship in our possession, with provisions enough for a little fleet rather than for a single ship. So with this purchase we went away for the Leeward Islands, and fain we would have met with some of the New York or New England ships, which generally come loaden with pease, flour, pork, &c. But it was a long while before anything of that kind presented. We had promised the Irish captain to set him on shore with his company at Nevis, but we were not willing till we had done our business in those seas, because of giving the alarm among the islands. So we went away for St. Domingo, and making that island our rendezvous, we cruised to the eastward in hopes of some purchase. It was not long before we spied a sail which proved to be a Bermudas sloop, but bound from Virginia or Maryland, with flour, tobacco, and some malt, the last a thing which, in particular, we knew not what to do with. However, the flour and tobacco was very welcome, and the sloop no less welcome than the rest, for she was a very large vessel and carried near sixty ton, and when not so deep loaden proved an excellent sailer. Soon after this we met with another sloop, but she was bound from Barbados to New England, with rum, sugar, and molasses. Nothing disturbed us in taking this vessel, but that [we were] willing enough

to let her go (for as to the sugar and molasses, we had neither use for them or room for them); but to have let her go, had been to give the alarm to all the coast of North America, and then what we wanted would never come in our way. Our captain, justly called Redhand or Bloodyhand, was presently for despatching them, that they might tell no tales, and, indeed, the necessity of the method had very near prevailed; nor did I much interpose here, I know not why; but some of the other men put him in as good a way, and that was, to bring the sloop to an anchor under the lee of St. Domingo, and take away all her sails, that she should not stir till we gave her leave.

We met with no less than five prizes more here in about twenty days' cruise, but none of them for our turn; one of them, indeed, was a vessel bound to St. Christopher's with Madeira wine. We borrowed about twenty pipes of the wine, and let her go. Another was a New-England-built ship of about one hundred and fifty ton, bound also home with sugar and molasses, which was good for nothing to us; however, we got near £1000 on board her in pieces of eight, and taking away her sails, as before, brought her to an anchor under the lee of the sloop. At last we met with what we wanted, and this was another ship of about one hundred ton from New England, bound to Barbados. She had on board one hundred and fifty barrels of flour, about three hundred and fifty barrels of pease, and ten ton of pork barrelled up and pickled, besides some live hogs, and some horses, and six tun of beer.

We were now sufficiently provided for. In all those prizes we got also about fifty-six men, who, by choice and volunteer, agreed to go along with us, including the carpenters and surgeons, who we obliged always to go, so that we were now above two hundred men, two

ships, and the Bermudas sloop; and giving the other sloop and the New England homeward-bound ship their sails again, we let them go; and as to the malt which we took in the Bermudas sloop, we gave it the last New England master, who was going to Barbados.

We got in all those ships, besides the provisions above mentioned, about two hundred muskets and pistols, good store of cutlasses, about twenty ton of iron shot and musket ball, and thirty-three barrels of good powder, which was all very suitable things to our occasions.

We were fully satisfied, as we said to one another now, and concluded that we would stand away to the windward as well as we could, towards the coast of Africa, that we might come in the wind's way for the coast of Brazil. But our frigate (I mean that we were first shipped in) was yet out upon the cruise, and not come in, so we came to an anchor to wait for her, when, behold, the next morning she came in with full sail and a prize in tow. She had, it seems, been farther west than her orders, but had met with a Spanish prize, whither bound, or from whence, I remember we did not inquire, but we found in her, besides merchandise which we had no occasion for, 65,000 pieces of eight in silver, some gold, and two boxes of pearl of a good value. Five Dutch, or rather Flemish, seamen that were on board her were willing to go with us; and as to the rest of the cargo, we let her go; only, finding four of her guns were brass, we took them into our ship, with seven great jars of powder and some cannon-shot, and let her go, using the Spaniards very civilly.

This was a piece of mere good fortune to us, and was so encouraging as nothing could be more, for it set us up, as we may say; for now we thought we could never fail of good fortune, and we resolved, one and all, directly to the South Seas.

It was about the middle of August 1690 that we set forward, and steering E. by S. and E.S.E. for about fifteen days, with the winds at N.N.W. variable, we came quickly into the trade winds, with a good offing, to go clear of all the islands; and so we steered directly for Cape St. Augustin, in the Brazils, which we made the 22nd of September.

We cruised some time upon the coast about the Bay of All Saints, and put in once or twice for fresh water, especially at the island of St. John's, where we got good store of fish and some hogs, which, for fresh provisions, was a great relief to us. But we got no purchase here; for whether it was that their European ships were just come in or just gone out, we know not, or whether they suspected what we were, and so kept close within their ports, but in thirteen days that we plied off and on about Pernambuco, and about fourteen days more that we spent in coasting along the Brazil shore to the south, we met not one ship, neither saw a sail, except of their fishing-boats or small coasters, who kept close under shore.

We crossed the line here about the latter end of September, and found the air exceeding hot and unwholesome, the sun being in the zenith, and the weather very wet and rainy. So we resolved to stand away south without looking for any more purchase on that side.

Accordingly we kept on to the south, having tolerable good weather, and keeping the shore all the way in view till we came the length of St. Julian, in the latitude of forty-eight degrees twenty-two minutes south. Here we put in again, being the beginning of November, and took in fresh water, and spent about ten days refreshing ourselves and fitting our tackle, all which time we lived upon penguins and seals, of which we killed an innumerable number; and when we prepared to go, we salted up as many penguins as we

found would serve our whole crew, to eat them twice a week as long as they would keep.

Here we consulted together about going through the Straits of Magellan, but I put them quite out of conceit of making that troublesome and fatiguing adventure, the straits being so hazardous, and so many winds required to pass them; and having assured them that in our return with Bat Sharp, we went away to the latitude of fifty-five degrees thirty minutes, and then, steering due east, came open with the North Seas in five days' run, they all agreed to go that way.

On the 20th of November we weighed from Port Julian, and having a fair wind at N.E. by E., led it away merrily till we came into the latitude of fifty-four, when the wind veering more northerly, and then to the N.W., blowing hard, we were driven into fifty-five degrees and a half; but lying as near as we could to the wind, we made some westward way withal. The 3rd of December the wind came up S., and S.E. by S., being now just as it were at the beginning of the summer solstice in that country.

With this wind, which blew a fresh gale, we stood away N.N.W., and soon found ourselves in open sea to the west of America, upon which we hauled away N. by E. and N.N.E., and then N.E., when, on the 20th of December, we made the land, being the coast of Chili, in the latitude of forty-one degrees, about the height of Baldivia; and we stood out from hence till we made the isle of Juan Fernandez, where we came to an anchor, and went on shore to get fresh water; also some of our men went a-hunting for goats, of which we killed enough to feed us all with fresh meat for all the while we stayed here, which was twenty-two days (January 11).

During this stay we sent the sloop out to cruise, but she came back without seeing any vessel; after which

we ordered her out again more to the north, but she was scarce gone a league when she made a signal that she saw a sail, and that we should come out to help them. Accordingly the frigate put to sea after them, but making no signal for us to follow, we lay still, and worked hard at cleaning our ship, shifting some of the rigging and the like.

We heard no more of them in three days, which made us repent sorely that we had not gone all three together; but the third day they came back, though without any prize, as we thought, but gave us an account that they had chased a great ship and a bark all night and the next day; that they took the bark the evening before, but found little in her of value; that the great ship ran on shore among some rocks, where they durst not go in after her, but that, manning out their boats, they got on shore so soon that the men belonging to her durst not land; that then they threatened to burn the ship as she lay, and burn them all in her, if they did not come on shore and surrender. They offered to surrender, giving them their liberty, which our men would not promise at first; but after some parley and arguing on both sides, our men agreed thus far, that they should remain prisoners for so long as we were in those seas, but that as soon as we came to the height of Panama, or if we resolved to return sooner, then they should be set at liberty; and to these hard conditions they yielded.

Our men found in the ship six brass guns, two hundred sacks of meal, some fruit, and the value of 160,000 pieces of eight in gold of Chili, as good as any in the world. It was a glittering sight, and enough to dazzle the eyes of those that looked on it, to see such a quantity of gold laid all of a heap together, and we began to embrace one another in congratulation of our good fortune.

We brought the prisoners all to the island Fernan-
z, where we used them very well, built little houses
r them, gave them bread and meat, and everything
ey wanted, and gave them powder and ball to kill
ats with, which they were fully satisfied with, and
led a great many for us too.

We continued to cruise (February 2) hereabout,
t without finding any other prize for near three
eks more. So we resolved to go up as high as
na, the place where I had been so lucky before,
d we assured our prisoners that in about two months
would return and relieve them; but they chose
her to be on board us. So we took them all in
ain, and kept on with an easy sail at a proper
tance from land, that we might not be known and
e alarm given; for as to the ship which we had
en, and which was stranded among the rocks, as
had taken all the men out of her, the people on
e shore, when they should find her, could think no
ner than that she was driven on shore by a storm,
d that all the people were drowned, or all escaped
d gone; and there was no doubt but that the ship
uld beat to pieces in a very few days.

We kept, I say, at a distance from the shore to pre-
nt giving the alarm; but it was a needless caution,
the country was all alarmed on another account,
., about one hundred and thirty bold buccaneers had
de their way overland, not at the isthmus of Darien
usual, but from Granada, on the lake of Nicaragua,
the north of Panama, by which, though the way was
ger, and the country not so practicable as at the
linary passage, yet they were unmolested, for they
prised the country; and whereas the Spaniards,
king for them at the old passage, had drawn en-
nchments, planted guns, and posted men at the
sages of the mountains to intercept them and cut
em off, here they met with no Spaniards nor any

other obstruction in their way, but, coming to the South Sea, had time, undiscovered, to build themselves canoes and periaguas, and did a great deal of mischief upon the shore, having been followed, among the rest, by eighty men more, commanded by one Guilotte, a Frenchman, an old buccaneer; so that they were now two hundred and ten men, and they were not long at sea before they took two Spanish barks going from Guatemala to Panama loaden with meal, cocoa, and other provisions, so that now they were a fleet of two barks, with several canoes and periaguas, but no guns, nor any more ammunition than every one carried at first at their backs.

However, this troop of desperadoes had alarmed all the coast, and expresses both by sea and land were despatched to warn the towns on the coast to be upon their guard all the way from Panama to Lima. But as they were represented to be only such freebooters as I have said, ships of strength did not desist their voyages, as they found occasion, as we shall observe presently. We were now gotten into the latitude of ten, eleven, and twelve degrees and a half; but, in our overmuch caution, had kept out so far to sea that we missed everything which would otherwise have fallen into our hands; but we were better informed quickly, as you shall hear.

Early in the morning one of our men being on the mizzen-top cried, "A sail! a sail!" It proved to be a small vessel standing just after us, and, as we understood afterwards, did so, believing that we were some of the king's ships looking after the buccaneers. As we understood she was astern of us, we shortened sail and hung out the Spanish colours, separating ourselves to make him suppose we were cruising for the buccaneers, and did not look for him. However, when we saw him come forward, but stretching in a little towards the shore, we took care to be so much

to starboard that he could not escape us that way, and when he was a little nearer the sloop plainly chased him, and in a little time came up with him and took him. We had little goods in the vessel, their chief loading being meal and corn for Panama; but the master happened to have 6000 pieces of eight in his cabin, which was good booty.

But that which was better than all this to us was, that the master gave us an account of two ships which were behind, and were under sail for Lima or Panama, the one having the revenues of the kingdom of Chili, and the other having a great quantity of silver going from Puna to Lima, to be forwarded from thence to Panama, and that they kept together, being ships of force, to protect one another. How they did it we soon saw the effects of.

Upon this intelligence we were very joyful, and assured the master that, if we found it so, we would give him his vessel again, and all his goods except his money; as for that, we told him such people as we never returned it anybody. However, the man's intelligence proved good, for the very next day, as we were standing south-west, our Spanish colours being out, as above, we spied one of the ships, and soon after the other. We found they had discovered us also, and that, being doubtful what to make of us, they tacked and stood eastward to get nearer the land. We did the like, and as we found there was no letting them go that way, but that we should be sure to lose them, we soon let them know that we were resolved to speak with them.

The biggest ship, which was three leagues astern of the other, crowded in for the shore with all the sail she could make, and it was easy for us to see that she would escape us; for as she was a great deal further in with the land than the other when we first gave chase, so in about three hours we saw the land plain

ahead of us, and that the great ship would get into port before we could reach her.

Upon this we stretched ahead with all the sail we could make, and the sloop, which crowded also very hard, and out-went us, engaged the small ship at least an hour before we could come up. But she could make little of it, for the Spanish ship, having twelve guns and six patereroes, would have been too many for the sloop if we had not come up. However, at length, our biggest ship came up also, and running up under her quarter, gave her our whole broadside; at which she struck immediately, and the Spaniards cried quarter and *misericordia*. Upon this our sloop's men entered her presently and secured her.

In the beginning of this action, it seems, our Red-hand Captain was so provoked at losing the greater prize, which, as he thought, had all the money on board, that he swore he would not spare one of the dogs (so he called the Spaniards in the other ship): but he was prevented, and it was very happy for the Spaniards that the first shot the ship made towards us, just as we were running up to pour in our broadside, — I say, the first shot took Captain Redhand full on the breast, and shot his head and one shoulder off, so that he never spoke more, nor did I find that any one man in the ship showed the least concern for him. So certain it is that cruelty never recommends any man among Englishmen; no, though they have no share in the suffering under it. But one said, "D—n him; let him go; he was a butcherly dog." Another said, "D—n him; he was a merciless son of a b—ch." Another said, "He was a barbarous dog," and the like.

But to return to the prize. Being now as certain of the smaller prize as that we had missed the great one, we began to examine what we had got; and it

is not easy to give an exact account of the prodigious variety of things we found. In the first place were one hundred and sixteen chests of pieces of eight in specie, seventy-two bars of silver, fifteen bags of wrought plate, which a friar that was on board would have persuaded us, for the sake of the Blessed Virgin, to have returned, being, as he said, consecrated plate to the honour of the Holy Church, the Virgin Mary, and St. Martin; but, as it happened, he could not persuade us to it; also we found about 60,000 ounces of gold, some in little wedges, some in dust. We found several other things of value, but not to be named with the rest.

Being thus made surprisingly rich, we began to think what course we should steer next; for as the great ship which was escaped would certainly alarm the country, we might be sure we should meet with no more purchase at sea, and we were not very fond of landing to attack any town on shore. In this consultation 't is to be observed that I was, by the unanimous consent of all the crew, made captain of the great ship and of the whole crew — the whole voyage hither, and every part of it, having, for some time before, been chiefly managed by my direction, or at least by my advice.

The first thing I proposed to them all was, seeing we had met with such good luck, and that we could not expect much more, and, if we stayed longer in these seas, should find it very hard to revictual our ships, and might have our retreat cut off by Spanish men-of-war (five of which we heard were sent out after the other buccaneers), we should make the best of our way to the south, and get about into the North Seas, where we were out of all danger.

In consequence of this advice, which was generally approved, we stood away directly south, and the wind blowing pretty fair at N.N.E. a merry gale, we stood

directly for the isle of Juan Fernandez, carrying our rich prize with us.

We arrived here the beginning of June, having been just six months in those seas. We were surprised when, coming to the island, we found two ships at an anchor close under the lee of the rocks, and two little periaguas further in, near the shore; but being resolved to see what they were, we found, to our satisfaction, they were the buccaneers of whom I have spoken above. The story is too long to enter upon here; but, in short, without guns, without ship, and only coming overland with their fusees in their hands, they had ranged these seas, had taken several prizes, and some pretty rich, and had got two pretty handsome barks; one carried six guns, and the other four. They had shared, as they told us, about four hundred pieces of eight a man; besides, one thing they had which we were willing to buy of them — they had about one hundred jars of gunpowder, which they took out of a store-ship going to Lima.

If we were glad to meet them, you may be sure they were glad to meet with us, and so we began to sort together as one company; only they were loth to give over and return, as we were, and which we had now resolved on.

We were so rich ourselves, and so fully satisfied with what we had taken, that we began to be bountiful to our countrymen; and indeed they dealt so generously with us, that we could not but be inclined to do them some good; for when we talked of buying their gunpowder, they very frankly gave us fifty jars of it gratis.

I took this so kindly that I called a little council among ourselves, and proposed to send the poor rogues fifty barrels of our beef, which we could very well spare; and our company agreeing to it, we did

so, which made their hearts glad, for it was very good, and they had not tasted good salt beef for a long time, and with it we sent them two hogsheads of rum. This made them so hearty to us, that they sent two of their company to compliment us, to offer to enter themselves on board us, and to go with us all the world over.

We did not so readily agree to this at first, because we had no new enterprise in view; but, however, as they sent us word they had chosen me so unanimously for their captain, I proposed to our men to remove ourselves and all our goods into the great ship and the sloop, and so take the honest fellows into the frigate, which now had no less than twenty-two guns, and would hold them all, and then they might sail with us, or go upon any adventures of their own, as we should agree.

Accordingly we did so, and gave them that ship, with all her guns and ammunition, but made one of our own men captain, which they consented to, and so we became all one body.

Here also we shared our booty, which was great, indeed, to a profusion; and as keeping such a treasure in every man's particular private possession would have occasioned gaming, quarrelling, and perhaps thieving and pilfering, I ordered that so many small chests should be made as there were men in the ship, and every man's treasure was nailed up in these chests, and the chests all stowed in the hold, with every man's name upon his chest, not to be touched but by general order; and to prevent gaming, I prevailed with them to make a law or agreement, and every one to set their hands to it; by which they agreed that if any man played for any more money than he had in his keeping, the winner should not be paid, whatever the loser run in debt, but the chest containing every man's dividend should be all his

own, to be delivered whole to him; and the offender, whenever he left the ship, if he would pay any gaming debts afterward, that was another case, but such debts should never be paid while he continued in that company.

By this means also we secured the ship's crew keeping together; for if any man left the ship now, he was sure to leave about 6000 pieces of eight behind him, to be shared among the rest of the ship's company, which few of them cared to do.

As we were now all embarked together, the next question was, whither we should go? As for our crew, we were so rich, that our men were all for going back again, and so to make off to some of the Leeward Islands, that we might get ashore privately with our booty. But as we had shipped our new comrades on board a good ship, it would be very hard to oblige them to go back without any purchase; for that would be to give them a ship to do them no good, but to carry them back to Europe just as they came out from thence, viz., with no money in their pockets.

Upon these considerations we came to this resolution, that they should go out to sea and cruise the height of Lima and try their fortune, and that we would stay sixty days for them at Juan Fernandez.

Upon this agreement they went away very joyful, and we fell to work to new rig our ship, mending our sails, and cleaning our bottom. Here we employed ourselves a month very hard at work. Our carpenters also took down some of the ship's upper work, and built it, as we thought, more to the advantage of sailing; so that we had more room within, and yet did not lie so high.

During this time we had a tent set up on shore, and fifty of our men employed themselves wholly in killing goats and fowls for our fresh provisions; and

one of our men understanding we had some malt left on board the ship, which was taken in one of the prizes, set up a great kettle on shore and went to work to brewing, and, to our great satisfaction, brewed us some very good beer; but we wanted bottles to keep it in after it had stood a while in the cask.

However, he brewed us very good small beer for present use, and instead of hops he found some wild wormwood growing on the island, which gave it no unpleasant taste, and made it very agreeable to us.

Before the time was expired, our frigate sent a sloop to us, which they had taken, to give us notice that they were in a small creek near the mould of the river Guayaquil, on the coast of Peru, in the latitude of twenty-two degrees. They had a great booty in view, there being two ships in the river of Guayaquil, and two more expected to pass by from Lima, in which was a great quantity of plate; that they waited there for them, and begged we would not think the time long; but that if we should go away, they desired that we would fix up a post with a piece of lead on it, signifying where they should come to us, and wherever it was, east or west, north or south, they would follow us with all the sail they could make.

A little while after this they sent another sloop, which they had taken also, and she brought a vast treasure in silver and very rich goods, which they had got in plundering a town on the continent, and they ordered the sloop to wait for them at the island where we lay till their return. But they were so eager in the pursuit of their game, that they could not think of coming back yet, neither could we blame them, they having such great things in view. So we resolved, in pursuit of our former resolution, to be gone, and after several consultations among ourselves

in what part of the world we should pitch our tent, we broke up at first without any conclusion.

We were all of the opinion that our treasure was so great that wherever we went we should be a prey to the government of that place; that it was impossible to go all on shore and be concealed; and that we should be so jealous of one another, that we should certainly betray one another, every one for fear of his fellow; that is to say, for fear the other should tell first. Some therefore proposed our going about the south point of Cape Horn, and that then, going away to the Gulf of Mexico, we should go on shore at the Bay of Campeachy, and from thence disperse ourselves as well as we could, and every one go his own way.

I was willing enough to have gone thither, because of the treasure I had left there under ground; but still I concluded we were (as I have said) too rich to go on shore anywhere to separate, for every man of us had too much wealth to carry about us; and if we separated, the first number of men any of us should meet with, that were strong enough to do it, would take it from us, and so we should but just expose ourselves to be murdered for that money we had gotten at so much hazard.

Some proposed then our going to the coast of Virginia, and go some on shore in one place, and some in another, privately, and so travelling to the seaports where there were most people, we might be concealed, and by degrees reduce ourselves to a private capacity, every one shifting home as well as they could. This, I acknowledge, might be done if we were sure none of us would be false one to another; but while tales might be told, and the teller of the tale was sure to save his own life and treasure, and make his peace at the expense of his comrades, there was no safety; and they might be sure that as the money would render

them suspected wherever they came, so they would be examined, and what by faltering in their story, and by being cross-examined kept apart, and the one being made to believe the other had betrayed him and told all, when indeed he might have said nothing to hurt him, the truth of fact would be dragged out by piecemeal, till they would certainly at last come to the gallows.

These objections were equally just to what nation or place soever we could think of going; so that, upon the whole, we concluded there was no safety for us but by keeping all together, and going to some part of the world where we might be strong enough to defend ourselves, or be so concealed till we might find out some way of escape that we might not now be so well able to think of.

In the middle of all these consultations, in which I freely own I was at a loss, and could not tell which way to advise, an old sailor stood up and told us, if we would be advised by him, there was a part of the world where he had been where we might all settle ourselves undisturbed, and live very comfortably and plentifully till we could find out some way how to dispose of ourselves better, and that we might easily be strong enough for the inhabitants, who would at first, perhaps, attack us, but that afterwards they would sort very well with us, and supply us with all sorts of provisions very plentifully, and this was the island of Madagascar. He told us we might live very well there. He gave us a large account of the country, the climate, the people, the plenty of provisions which was to be had there, especially of black cattle, of which, he said, there was an infinite number, and consequently a plenty of milk, of which so many other things was made. In a word, he read us so many lectures upon the goodness of the place and the conveniency of living there, that

we were, one and all, eager to go thither, and concluded upon it.

Accordingly, having little left to do (for we had been in a sailing posture some weeks), we left word with the officer who commanded the sloop, and with all his men, that they should come after us to Madagascar; and our men were not wanting to let them know all our reasons for going thither, as well as the difficulties we found of going anywhere else, which had so fully possessed them with the hopes of further advantage, that they promised for the rest that they would all follow us.

However, as we all calculated the length of the voyage, and that our water, and perhaps our provisions, might not hold out so far, but especially our water, we agreed, that having passed Cape Horn, and got into the North Seas, we would steer northward up the east shore of America till we came to St. Julian, where we would stay at least fourteen days to take in water, and to store ourselves with seals and penguins, which would greatly eke out our ship's stores; and that then we should cross the great Atlantic Ocean in a milder latitude than if we went directly, and stood immediately over from the passage about the Cape, which must be, at least, in fifty-five or fifty-six; and perhaps, as the weather might be, would be in the latitude of sixty or sixty-one.

With this resolution, and under these measures, we set sail from the island of St. Juan Fernandez the 23rd of September (being the same there as our March is here), and keeping the coast of Chili on board, had good weather for about a fortnight (October 14), till we came into the latitude of forty-four degrees south, when finding the wind come squally off the shore from among the mountains, we were obliged to keep farther out at sea, where the winds were less uncertain, and some calms we met with, till about the middle

of October (16th), when the wind springing up at N.N.W. a pretty moderate gale, we jogged S.E. and S.S.E. till we came into the latitude of fifty-five degrees, and the 16th of November found ourselves in fifty-nine degrees, the weather exceeding cold and severe. But the wind holding fair, we held in with the land, and steering E.S.E., we held that course till we thought ourselves entirely clear of the land, and entered into the North Sea or Atlantic Ocean; and then changing our course, we steered N. and N.N.E.; but the wind blowing still at N.N.W. a pretty stiff gale, we could make nothing of it till we made the land in the latitude of fifty-two degrees, and when we came close under shore we found the winds variable; so we made still N. under the lee of the shore, and made the point of St. Julian the 13th of November, having been a year and seven days since we parted from thence on our voyage outward bound.

Here we rested ourselves, took in fresh water, and began to kill seals and fowls of several sorts, but especially penguins, which this place is noted for, and here we stayed in hopes our frigate would arrive, but we heard no news of her; so at parting we set up a post with this inscription, done on a plate of lead, with our names upon the lead, and these words: —

"*Gone to Madagascar, December* 10, 1692;"

(being in that latitude the longest day in the year;) and I doubt not but the post may stand there still.

From hence we launched out into the vast Atlantic Ocean, steering our course E. by N. and E.N.E. till we had sailed, by our account, about four hundred and seventy leagues, taking our meridian distance or departure from St. Julian; and here a strong gale springing up at S.E. by E. and E.S.E., increasing afterwards to a violent storm, we were forced by it to

the northward as high as the Tropic, not that it blew a storm all the while, but it blew so steady and so very hard for near twenty days together, that we were carried quite out of our intended course. After we had weathered this, we began to recover ourselves again, making still east; and endeavouring to get to the southward, we had yet another hard gale of wind at S. and S.S.E. so strong, that we could make nothing of it at all; whereupon it was resolved, if we could, to make the island of St. Helena, which, in about three weeks more, we very happily came to on the 17th of January.

It was to our great satisfaction that we found no ships at all here, and we resolved not by any means to let the governor on shore know our ship's name or any of our officers' names, and I believe our men were very true to one another in that point, but they were not at all shy of letting them know upon what account we were, &c.; so that if he could have gotten any of us in his power, as we were afterwards told he endeavoured by two or three ambuscades to do, we should have passed our time but very indifferently, for which, when we went away, we let him know we would not have failed to have beat his little fort about his ears.

We stayed no longer here than just served to refresh ourselves and supply our want of fresh water. The wind presenting fair (February 2, 1692–3), we set sail, and (not to trouble my story with the particulars of the voyage, in which nothing remarkable occurred) we doubled the Cape the 13th of March, and passing on without coming to an anchor or discovering ourselves, we made directly to the island of Madagascar, where we arrived the 7th of April — the sloop, to our particular satisfaction, keeping in company all the way, and bearing the sea as well as our ship upon all occasions.

To this time I had met with nothing but good fortune; success answered every attempt and followed every undertaking, and we scarce knew what it was to be disappointed. But we had an interval of our fortunes to meet with in this place. We arrived, as above, at the island on the 13th of March, but we did not care to make the south part of the island our retreat, nor was it a proper place for our business, which was to take possession of a private, secure place to make a refuge of; so after staying some time where we put in, which was on the point of land a little to the south of Cape St. Augustine, and taking in water and provisions there, we stood away to the north, and keeping the island in view, went on till we came to the latitude of fourteen degrees. Here we met with a very terrible tornado or hurricane, which, after we had beat the sea as long as we could, obliged us to run directly for the shore to save our lives as well as we could, in hopes of finding some harbour or bay where we might run in, or at least might go into smooth water till the storm was over.

The sloop was more put to it than we were in the great ship, and being obliged to run afore it a little sooner than we did, she served for a pilot-boat to us which followed; in a word, she run in under the lee of a great headland which jetted far out into the sea, and stood very high also, and came to an anchor in three fathom and a half water. We followed her, but not with the same good luck, though we came to an anchor too, as we thought, safe enough; but the sea going very high, our anchor came home in the night, and we drove on shore in the dark among the rocks, in spite of all we were able to do.

Thus we lost the most fortunate ship that ever man sailed with; however, making signals of distress to the sloop, and by the assistance of our own boat, we saved our lives; and the storm abating in the

morning, we had time to save many things, particularly our guns and most of our ammunition, and, which was more than all the rest, we saved our treasure. Though I mention the saving our guns first, yet they were the last things we saved, being obliged to break the upper deck of the ship up for them.

Being thus got on shore, and having built us some huts for our conveniency, we had nothing before us but a view of fixing our habitations in the country; for though we had the sloop, we could propose little advantage by her; for as to cruising for booty among the Arabians or Indians, we had neither room for it or inclination to it; and as for attacking any European ship, the sloop was in no condition to do it, though we had all been on board, for everybody knows that all the ships trading from Europe to the East Indies were ships of force, and too strong for us. So that, in short, we had nothing in view for several months but how to settle ourselves here, and live as comfortably and as well as we could till something or other might offer for our deliverance.

In this condition we remained on shore above eight months, during which time we built us a little town, and fortified it by the direction of one of our gunners, who was a very good engineer, in a very clever and regular manner, placing a very strong double palisado round the foot of our works, and a very large ditch without our palisado, and a third palisado beyond the ditch like a counterscarp or covered way. Besides this, we raised a large battery next to the sea, with a line of twenty-four guns placed before it, and thus we thought ourselves in a condition to defend ourselves against any force that could attempt us in that part of the world. And besides all this, the place on which our habitation was built being an island, there was no coming easily at us by land.

But I was far from being easy in this situation of our affairs; so I made a proposal to our men one day, that though we were well enough in our habitation, and wanted for nothing, yet since we had a sloop here, and a boat so good as she was, 't was pity she should lie and perish there, but we should send her abroad and see what might happen; that perhaps it might be our good luck to surprise some ship or other for our turn, and so we might all go to sea again. The proposal was well enough relished at first word, but the great mischief of all was like to be this, that we should all go together by the ears upon the question who should go in her. My secret design was laid, that I was resolved to go in her myself, and that she should not go without me; but when it began to be talked of, I discovered the greatest seeming resolution not to stir, but to stay with the rest, and take care of the main chance, that was to say, the money.

I found, when they saw that I did not propose to go myself, the men were much the easier, for at first they began to think it was only a project of mine to run away from them, and so indeed it was. However, as I did not at first propose to go myself, so when I came to the proposal of who should go, I made a long discourse to them of the obligation they had all to be faithful one to another, and that those who went in the sloop ought to consider themselves and those that were with them to be but one body with those who were left behind; that their whole concern ought to be to get some good ship to fetch them off. At last I concluded with a proposal that whoever went in the sloop should leave his money behind in the common keeping, as it was before, to remain as a pledge for his faithful performing the voyage, and coming back again to the company, and should faithfully swear that wherever they went (for as to the voyage, they were at full liberty to go whither they would), they

would certainly endeavour to get back to Madagascar, and that if they were cast away, stranded, taken, or whatever befell them, they should never rest till they got to Madagascar, if it was possible.

They all came most readily into this proposal for those who should go into the sloop, but with this alteration in them (which was easy to be seen in their countenances), viz., that from that minute there was no striving who should go, but every man was willing to stay where they were. This was what I wanted, and I let it rest for two or three days, when I took occasion to tell them, that seeing they all were sensible that it was a very good proposal to send the sloop out to sea, and see what they could do for us, I thought it was strange they should so generally show themselves backward to the service for fear of parting from their money. I told them that no man need be afraid that the whole body should agree to take his money from him without any pretended offence, much less when he should be abroad for their service. But, however, as it was my proposal, and I was always willing to hazard myself for the good of them all, so I was ready to go on the conditions I had proposed to them for others, and I was not afraid to flatter myself with serving them so well abroad, that they should not grudge to restore me my share of money when I came home, and the like of all those that went with me.

This was so seasonably spoken, and humoured so well, that it answered my design effectually, and I was voted to go *nemine contradicente;* then I desired they would either draw lots for who and who should go with me, or leave it in my absolute choice to pick and cull my men. They had for some time agreed to the first, and forty blanks were made for those to whose lot it should come to draw a blank to go in the sloop; but then it was said this might neither be

a fair nor an effectual choice; for example, if the needful number of officers and of particular occupations should not happen to be lotted out, the sloop might be obliged to go out to sea without a surgeon, or without a carpenter, or without a cook, and the like. So, upon second thoughts, it was left to me to name my men; so I chose me out forty stout fellows, and among them several who were trusty, bold men, fit for anything.

Being thus manned, the sloop rigged, and having cleared her bottom and laid in provisions enough for a long voyage, we set sail the 3rd of January 1694, for the Cape of Good Hope. We very honestly left our money, as I said, behind us; only that we had about the value of two thousand pound in pieces of eight allowed us on board for any exigence that might happen at sea.

We made no stop at the Cape or at St. Helena, though we passed in sight of it, but stood over to the Caribbee Islands directly, and made the Island of Tobago the 18th of February, where we took in fresh water, which we stood in great need of, as you may judge by the length of the voyage. We sought no purchase, for I had fully convinced our men that our business was not to appear, as we were used to be, upon the cruise, but as traders, and to that end I proposed to go away to the Bay of Campeachy and load logwood, under the pretence of selling of which we might go anywhere.

It is true I had another design here, which was to recover the money which my comrade and I had buried there; and having the man on board with me to whom I had communicated my design, we found an opportunity to come at our money with privacy enough, having so concealed it as that it would have lain there to the general conflagration if we had not come for it ourselves.

My next resolution was to go for England, only that I had too many men, and did not know what to do with them. I told them we could never pretend to go with a sloop loaden with logwood to any place, with forty men on board, but we should be discovered; but if they would resolve to put fifteen or sixteen men on shore as private seamen, the rest might do well enough, and if they thought it hard to be set on shore, I was content to be one; only that I thought it was very reasonable that whoever went on shore should have some money given them, and that all should agree to rendezvous in England, and so make the best of our way thither, and there perhaps we might get a good ship to go fetch off our comrades and our money. With this resolution, sixteen of our men had three hundred pieces of eight a man given them, and they went off thus. The sloop stood away north through the Gulf of Florida, keeping under the shore of Carolina and Virginia; so our men dropped off as if they had deserted the ship. Three of the sixteen ran away there, five more went off at Virginia, three at New York, three at Rhode Island, and myself and one more at New England; and so the sloop went away for England with the rest. I got all my money on shore with me, and concealed it as well as I could. Some I got bills for, some I bought molasses with, and turned the rest into gold; and dressing myself, not as a common sailor, but as a master of a ketch which I had lost in the Bay of Campeachy, I got passage on board one Captain Guillame, a New England captain, whose owner was one Mr. Johnson, a merchant, living at Hackney, near London.

Being at London, it was but a very few months before several of us met again, as I have said we agreed to do; and being true to our first design of going back to our comrades, we had several close

conferences about the manner and figure in which we should make the attempt, and we had some very great difficulties appeared in our way. First, to have fitted up a small vessel, it would be of no service to us, but be the same thing as the sloop we came in; and if we pretended to a great ship, our money would not hold out; so we were quite at a stand in our councils what to do or what course to take, till at length, our money still wasting, we grew less able to execute anything we should project.

This made us all desperate, when, as desperate distempers call for desperate cures, I started a proposal which pleased them all, and this was, that I would endeavour among my acquaintance, and with what money I had left (which was still sixteen or seventeen hundred pound), to get the command of a good ship, bearing a quarter part or thereabout myself, and so having got into the ship and got a freight, the rest of our gang should all enter on board as seamen, and whatever voyage we went, or whereso-ever we were bound, we would run away with the ship and all the goods, and so go to our friends as we had promised.

I made several attempts of this kind, and once bought a very good ship called *The Griffin*, of one Snelgrove a shipwright, and engaged the persons concerned to hold a share in her, and fit her out on a voyage for Leghorn and Venice, when it was very probable the cargo to be shipped on board casually by the merchant would be very rich; but Providence, and the good fortune of the owner, prevented this bargain, for without any objection against me, or discovery of my design in the least, he told me afterwards his wife had an ugly dream or two about the ship; once, that it was set on fire by lightning, and he had lost all he had in it; another time, that the men had mutinied and conspired to kill him; and

that his wife was so averse to his being concerned in it, that it had always been an unlucky ship, and that therefore his mind was changed; that he would sell the whole ship, if I would, but he would not hold any part of it himself.

Though I was very much disappointed at this, yet I put a very good face upon it, and told him, I was very glad to hear him tell me the particulars of his dissatisfaction; for if there was anything in dreams, and his wife's dream had any signification at all, it seemed to concern me (more than him), who was to go the voyage and command the ship; and whether the ship was to be burnt, or the men to mutiny, though part of the loss might be his, who was to stay on shore, all the danger was to be mine, who was to be at sea in her; and then, as he had said she had been an unlucky ship to him, it was very likely she would be so to me; and therefore I thanked him for the discovery, and told him I would not meddle with her.

The man was uneasy, and began to waver in his resolution, and had it not been for the continued importunities of his wife, I believe would have come on again; for people generally incline to a thing that is rejected, when they would reject the same thing when proffered. But I knew it was not my business to let myself be blowed upon, so I kept to my resolution and wholly declined that affair, on pretence of its having got an ill name for an unlucky ship; and that name stuck so to her that the owners could never sell her, and, as I have been informed since, were obliged to break her up at last.

It was a great while I spent with hunting after a ship, but was every way disappointed, till money grew short, and the number of my men lessened apace, and at last we were reduced to seven, when an opportunity happened in my way to go chief

mate on board a stout ship bound from London to ——.

[*N. B.* — In things so modern, it is no way convenient to write to you particular circumstances and names of persons, ships, or places, because those things, being in themselves criminal, may be called up in question in a judicial way; and therefore I warn the reader to observe that not only all the names are omitted, but even the scene of action in this criminal part is not laid exactly as things were acted, lest I should give justice a clue to unravel my story by, which nobody will blame me for avoiding.]

It is enough to tell the reader that, being put out to sea, and being, for conveniency of wind and weather, come to an anchor on the coast of Spain, my seven companions having resolved upon our measures, and having brought three more of the men to confederate with us, we took up arms in the middle of the night, secured the captain, the gunner, and the carpenter, and after that all the rest of the men, and declared our intention. The captain and nine men refused to come into our projected roguery (for we gave them their choice to go with us or go on shore), so we put them on shore very civilly, gave the master his books and everything he could carry with him, and all the rest of the men agreed to go along with us.

As I had resolved before I went on board upon what I purposed to do, so I had laid out all the money I had left in such things as I knew I should want, and had caused one of my men to pretend he was going to —— to build or buy a ship there, and that he wanted freight for a great deal of cordage, anchors, eight guns, powder and ball, with about twenty ton of lead and other bulky goods, which were all put on board as merchandise.

We had not abundance of bale goods on board,

which I was glad of; not that I made any conscience or scruple of carrying them away if the ship had been full of them, but we had no market for them. Our first business was to get a larger store of provision on board than we had, our voyage being long; and having acquainted the men with our design, and promised the new men a share of the wealth we had there, which made them very hearty to us, we set sail. We took in some beef and fish at ——, where we lay fifteen days, but out of all reach of the castle or fort, and having done our business, sailed away for the Canaries, where we took in some butts of wine, and some fresh water. With the guns the ship had, and those eight I had put on board as merchandise, we had then two and thirty guns mounted, but were but slenderly manned, though we got four English seamen at the Canaries; but we made up the loss at Fiall, where we made bold with three English ships we found, and partly by fair means, and partly by force, shipped twelve men there; after which, without any farther stop for men or stores, we kept the coast of Africa on board till we passed the line, and then stood off to St. Helena.

Here we took in fresh water and some fresh provisions, and went directly for the Cape of Good Hope, which we passed, stopping only to fill about twenty-two butts of water, and, with a fair gale, entered the sea of Madagascar, and sailing up the west shore between the island and the coast of Africa, came to an anchor over against our settlement, about two leagues' distance, and made the signal of our arrival with firing twice seven guns at the distance of a two-minute glass between the seven, when, to our infinite joy, the fort answered us, and the long-boat, the same that belonged to our former ship, came off to us.

We embraced one another with inexpressible joy,

and the next morning I went on shore, and our men brought our ship safe into harbour, lying within the defence of our platform, and within two cables' length of the shore, good soft ground, and in eleven fathom water, having been three months and eighteen days on the voyage, and almost three years absent from the place.

When I came to look about me here, I found our men had increased their number, and that a vessel which had been cruising, that is to say, pirating, on the coast of Arabia, having seven Dutchmen, three Portuguese, and five Englishmen on board, had been cast away upon the northern shore of that island, and had been taken up and relieved by our men, and lived among them. They told us also of another crew of European sailors which lay, as we did, on the main of the island, and had lost their ship, and were, as the islanders told them, above a hundred men, but we heard nothing who they were.

Some of our men were dead in the meantime, I think about three; and the first thing I did was to call a muster and see how things stood as to money. I found the men had been very true to one another; there lay all the money in chests piled up as I left it, and every man's money having his name upon it. Then acquainting the rest with the promise I had made the men that came with me, they all agreed to it; so the money belonging to the dead men, and to the rest of the forty men who belonged to the sloop, was divided among the men I brought with me, as well those who joined at first, as those we took in at the Cape de Verd and the Canaries. And the bales of goods which we found in the ship, many of which were valuable for our own use, we agreed to give them all to the fifteen men mentioned above, who had been saved by our men, and so to buy what we

wanted of those goods of them, which made their hearts glad also.

And now we began to consult what course to take in the world. As for going to England, though our men had a great mind to be there, yet none of them knew how to get thither, notwithstanding I had brought them a ship; but I, who had now made myself too public to think any more of England, had given over all views that way, and began to cast about for farther adventures; for though, as I said, we were immensely rich before, yet I abhorred lying still and burying myself alive, as I called it, among savages and barbarians; besides, some of our men were young in the trade, and had seen nothing, and they lay at me every day not to lie still in a part of the world where, as they said, such vast riches might be gained; and that the Dutchmen and Englishmen who were cast away, as above, and who our men called the Comelings, were continually buzzing in my ears what infinite wealth was to be got if I would but make one voyage to the coast of Malabar, Coromandel, and the Bay of Bengal; nay, the three Portuguese seamen offered themselves to attack and bring off one of their biggest galleons, even out of the road of Goa, on the Malabar coast, the capital of the Portuguese factories in the Indies.

In a word, I was overcome with these new proposals, and told the rest of my people I was resolved to go to sea again and try my good fortune. I was sorry I had not another ship or two, but if ever it lay in my power to master a good ship, I would not fail to bring her to them.

While I was thus fitting out upon this new undertaking, and the ship lay ready to sail, and all the men who were designed for the voyage were on board, being eighty-five in number, among which were all the men I brought with me, the fifteen Comelings,

and the rest made up out of our old number, — I say, when I was just upon the point of setting sail, we were all surprised, just in the grey of the morning, to spy a sail at sea. We knew not what to make of her, but found she was an European ship; that she was not a very large vessel, yet that she was a ship of force too. She seemed to shorten sail, as if she looked out for some harbour. At first sight I thought she was English. Immediately I resolved to slip anchor and cable, and go out to sea and speak with her if I could, let her be what she would. As soon as I was got a little clear of the land, I fired a gun and spread English colours. She immediately brought to, fired three guns, and manned out her boat with a flag of truce. I did the like, and the two boats spoke to one another in about two hours, when, to our infinite joy, we found they were our comrades who we left in the South Seas, and to whom we gave the frigate at the isle of Juan Fernandez.

Nothing of this kind could have happened more to our mutual satisfaction, for though we had long ago given them over either for lost, or lost to us, and we had no great need of company, yet we were overjoyed at meeting, and so were they too.

They were in some distress for provisions, and we had plenty; so we brought their ship in for them, gave them a present supply, and when we had helped them to moor and secure the ship in the harbour, we made them lock all their hatches and cabins up, and come on shore, and there we feasted them five or six days, for we had a plenty of all sorts of provisons, not to be exhausted; and if we had wanted an hundred head of fat bullocks, we could have had them for asking for of the natives, who treated us all along with all possible courtesy and freedom in their way.

The history of the adventures and success of these

men from the time we left them to the time of their arrival at our new plantation, was our whole entertainment for some days. I cannot pretend to give the particulars by my memory; but as they came to us thieves, they improved in their calling to a great degree, and, next to ourselves, had the greatest success of any of the buccaneers whose story has ever been made public.

I shall not take upon me to vouch the whole account of their actions, neither will this letter contain a full history of their adventures; but if the account which they gave us was true, you may take it thus: —

First, that having met with good success after they left us, and having taken some extraordinary purchase, as well in some vessels they took at sea, as in the plunder of some towns on the shore near Guayaquil, as I have already told you, they got information of a large ship which was loading the king's money at Puna, and had orders to sail with it to Lima, in order to its being carried from thence to Panama by the fleet, under the convoy of the flotilla or squadron of men-of-war which the king's governor at Panama had sent to prevent their being insulted by the pirates, which they had intelligence were on the coast, by which, we suppose, they meant us who were gone, for they could have no notion of these men then.

Upon this intelligence they cruised off and on upon the coast for near a month, keeping always to the southward of Lima, because they would not fall in the way of the said flotilla, and so be overpowered and miss of their prize. At last they met with what they looked for — that is to say, they met with the great ship above-named; but, to their great misfortune and disappointment (as they first thought it to be), she had with her a man-of-war for her

convoy, and two other merchant ships in her company.

The buccaneers had with them the sloop which they first sent to us for our intelligence, and which they made a little frigate of, carrying eight guns and some patereroes. They had not long time to consult, but, in short, they resolved to double man the sloop, and let her attack the great merchant-ship, while the frigate, which was the whole of their fleet, held the man-of-war in play, or at least kept him from assisting her.

According to this resolution, they put fifty men on board the sloop, which was, in short, almost as many as would stand upon her deck one by another; and with this force they attacked the great merchant-ship, which, besides its being well manned, had sixteen good guns and about thirty men on board. While the sloop thus began the unequal fight, the man-of-war bore down upon her to succour the ship under her convoy; but the frigate, thrusting in between, engaged the man-of-war, and began a very warm fight with her, for the man-of-war had both more guns and more men than the frigate after she had parted with fifty men on board the sloop. While the two men-of-war, as we may now call them, were thus engaged, the sloop was in great danger of being worsted by the merchant-ship, for the force was too much for her, the ship was great, and her men fought a desperate and close fight. Twice the sloop men entered her and were beaten off, and about nine of their men killed, several others wounded; and an unlucky shot taking the sloop between wind and water, she was obliged to fall astern, and heel her over to stop the leak, during which the Spaniards steered away to assist the man-of-war, and poured her broadside in upon the frigate, which, though but small, yet at a time when she lay yard-arm and yard-arm close by

the side of the Spanish man-of-war, was a great extremity; however, the frigate returned her broadside, and therewith made her sheer off, and, which was worse, shot her mainmast through, though it did not come presently by the board.

During this time the sloop, having many hands, had stopped the leak, was brought to rights again, and came up again to the engagement, and at the first broadside had the good luck to bring the ship's foremast by the board, and thereby disabled her, but could not for all that lay her athwart or carry her by boarding, so that the case began to be very doubtful; at which the captain of the sloop, finding the merchant-ship was disabled and could not get away from them, resolved to leave her a while and assist the frigate, which he did, and running alongside our frigate, he fairly laid the man-of-war on board just thwart his hawser; and besides firing into her with his great shot, he very fairly set her on fire, and it was a great chance but that they had been all three burned together, but our men helped the Spaniards themselves to put out the fire, and after some time mastered it. But the Spaniards were in such a terrible fright at the apprehension of the fire, that they made little resistance afterwards, and, in short, in about an hour's fight more, the Spanish man-of-war struck and was taken, and after that the merchant-ship also, with all the wealth that was in her; and thus their victory was as complete as it was unexpected.

The captain of the Spanish man-of-war was killed in the fight, and about thirty-six of his men, and most of the rest wounded, which, it seems, happened upon the sloop's lying athwart her. This man-of-war was a new ship, and, with some alteration in her upper work, made a very good frigate for them; and they afterwards quitted their own ship, and went all on

board the Spanish ship, taking out the mainmast of their own ship, and making a new foremast for the Spanish ship, because her foremast was also weakened with some shot in her. This, however, cost them a great deal of labour and difficulty, and also some time; when they came to a certain creek, where they all went on shore, and refreshed themselves a while.

But if the taking the man-of-war was an unexpected victory to them, the wealth of the prize was much more so, for they found an amazing treasure on board her, both in silver and gold, and the account they gave me was but imperfect; but I think they calculated the pieces of eight to be about thirteen ton in weight; besides that, they had five small chests of gold, some emeralds, and, in a word, a prodigious booty.

They were not, however, so modest in their prosperity as we were, for they never knew when to have done; but they must cruise again to the northward for more booty, when, to their great surprise, they fell in with the flotilla, or squadron of men-of-war, which they had so studiously avoided before, and were so surrounded by them that there was no remedy but they must fight, and that in a kind of desperation, having no prospect now but to sell their lives as dear as they could.

This unlucky accident befell them before they had changed their ship, so that they had now the sloop and both the men-of-war in company, but they were but thinly manned; and as for the booty, the greater part of it was on board the sloop — that is to say, all the gold and emeralds, and near half the silver.

When they saw the necessity of fighting, they ordered the sloop, if possible, to keep to windward, that so she might, as night came on, make the best of her way and escape; but a Spanish frigate of eighteen guns tended her so close, and sailed so well,

that the sloop could by no means get away from the rest; so she made up close to the buccaneers' frigate, and maintained a fight as well as she could, till in the dusk of the evening the Spaniards boarded and took her; but most of her men got away in her boat, and some by swimming on board the other ship. They only left in her five wounded Englishmen, and six Spanish negroes. The five English the barbarous Spaniards hanged up immediately, wounded as they were.

This was good notice to the other men to tell them what they were to expect, and made them fight like desperate men till night, and killed the Spaniards a great many men. It proved a very dark, rainy night, so that the Spaniards were obliged by necessity to give over the fight till the next day, endeavouring, in the meantime, to keep as near them as they could. But the buccaneers concerting their measures where they should meet, resolved to make use of the darkness of the night to get off if they could, and the wind springing up a fresh gale at S.S.W., they changed their course, and, with all the sail they could make, stood away to the N.N.W., slanting it to seawards as nigh the wind as they could; and getting clear away from the Spaniards, who they never saw more, they made no stay till they passed the line, and arrived in about twenty-two days' sail on the coast of California, where they were quite out of the way of all inquiry and search of the Spaniards.

Here it was they changed their ship, as I said, and quitting their own vessel, they went all on board the Spanish man-of-war, fitting up her masts and rigging, as I have said, and taking out all the guns, stores, &c., of their own ship, so that they had now a stout ship under them, carrying forty guns (for so many they made her carry), and well furnished with all things; and though they had lost so great a part of

their booty, yet they had still left a vast wealth, being six or seven ton of silver, besides what they had gotten before.

With this booty, and regretting heartily they had not practised the same moderation before, they resolved now to be satisfied, and make the best of their way to the island of Juan Fernandez; where, keeping at a great distance from the shore, they safely arrived in about two months' voyage, having met with some contrary winds by the way.

However, here they found the other sloop which they had sent in with their first booty, to wait for them; and here understanding that we were gone for St. Julian, they resolved (since the time was so long gone that they could not expect to find us again) that they would have t'other touch with the Spaniards, cost what it would. And accordingly, having first buried the most part of their money in the ground on shore in the island, and having revictualled their ship in the best manner they could in that barren island, away they went to sea.

They beat about on the south of the line all up the coast of Chili, and part of Peru, till they came to the height of Lima itself. They met with several ships, and took several, but they were loaden chiefly with lumber or provisions, except that in one vessel they took between 40,000 and 50,000 pieces of eight, and in another 75,000. They soon informed themselves that the Spanish men-of-war were gone out of those seas up to Panama to boast of their good fortune, and carry home their prize, and this made them the bolder. But though they spent near five months in this second cruise, they met with nothing considerable, the Spaniards being everywhere alarmed, and having notice of them, so that nothing stirred abroad.

Tired, then, with their long cruise, and out of hope of more booty, they began to look homeward, and to

say to one another that they had enough; so, in a word, they came back to Juan Fernandez, and there, furnishing themselves as well as they could with provisions, and not forgetting to take their treasure on board with them, they set forward again to the south; and after a very bad voyage in rounding the Terra del Fuego, being driven to the latitude of sixty-five degrees, where they felt extremity of cold, they at length obtained a more favourable wind, viz., at S. and S. S. E., with which, steering to the north, they came into a milder sea and a milder coast, and at length arrived at Port St. Julian, where, to their great joy, they found the post or cross erected by us; and understanding that we were gone to Madagascar, and that we would be sure to remain there to hear from them, and withal that we had been gone there near two years, they resolved to follow us.

Here they stayed, it seems, almost half a year, partly fitting and altering their ship, partly wearing out the winter season, and waiting for milder weather; and having victualled their ship in but a very ordinary manner for so long a run, viz., only with seals' flesh and penguins, and some deer they killed in the country, they at last launched out, and crossing the great Atlantic Ocean, they made the Cape of Good Hope in about seventy-six days, having been put to very great distresses in that time for want of food, all their seals' flesh and penguins growing nauseous and stinking in little less than half the time of their voyage; so that they had nothing to subsist on for seven-and-twenty days, but a little quantity of dried venison which they killed on shore, about the quantity of three barrels of English beef, and some bread; and when they came to the Cape of Good Hope they got some small supply, but it being soon perceived on shore what they were, they were glad to be gone as soon as they had filled their

casks with water, and got but a very little provisions; so they made to the coast of Natal on the south-east point of Africa, and there they got more fresh provisions, such as veal, milk, goats' flesh, some tolerable butter, and very good beef. And this held them out till they found us in the north part of Madagascar, as above.

We stayed about a fortnight in our port, and in a sailing posture, just as if we had been wind-bound, merely to congratulate and make merry with our new-come friends, when I resolved to leave them there, and set sail, which I did with a westerly wind, keeping away north till I came into the latitude of seven degrees north; so coasting along the Arabian coast E.N.E. towards the Gulf of Persia, in the cruise I met with two Persian barks loaden with rice, one of which I manned and sent away to Madagascar, and the other I took for our own ship's use. This bark came safe to my new colony, and was a very agreeable prize to them — I think verily almost as agreeable as if it had been loaded with pieces of eight; for they had been without bread a great while, and this was a double benefit to them, for they fitted up this bark, which carried about fifty-five ton, and went away to the Gulf of Persia in her to buy rice, and brought two or three freights of that, which was very good.

In this time I pursued my voyage, coasted the whole Malabar shore, and met with no purchase but a great Portugal East India ship, which I chased into Goa, where she got out of my reach. I took several small vessels and barks, but little of value in them, till I entered the great Bay of Bengal, when I began to look about me with more expectation of success, though without prospect of what happened.

I cruised here about two months, finding nothing worth while; so I stood away to a port on the north

point of the isle of Sumatra, where I made no stay; for here I got news that two large ships belonging to the Great Mogul were expected to cross the bay from Hoogly, in the Ganges, to the country of the King of Pegu, being to carry the grand-daughter of the Great Mogul to Pegu, who was to be married to the king of that country, with all her retinue, jewels, and wealth.

This was a booty worth watching for, though it had been some months longer; so I resolved that we would go and cruise off Point Negaris, on the east side of the bay, near Diamond Isle; and here we plied off and on for three weeks, and began to despair of success; but the knowledge of the booty we expected spurred us on, and we waited with great patience, for we knew the prize would be immensely rich.

At length we spied three ships coming right up to us with the wind. We could easily see they were not Europeans by their sails, and began to prepare ourselves for a prize, not for a fight; but were a little disappointed when we found the first ship full of guns and full of soldiers, and in condition, had she been managed by English sailors, to have fought two such ships as ours were. However, we resolved to attack her if she had been full of devils as she was full of men.

Accordingly, when we came near them, we fired a gun with shot as a challenge. They fired again immediately three or four guns, but fired them so confusedly that we could easily see they did not understand their business; when we considered how to lay them on board, and so to come thwart them, if we could; but falling, for want of wind, open to them, we gave them a fair broadside. We could easily see, by the confusion that was on board, that they were frighted out of their wits; they fired here

a gun and there a gun, and some on that side that was from us, as well as those that were next to us. The next thing we did was to lay them on board, which we did presently, and then gave them a volley of our small shot, which, as they stood so thick, killed a great many of them, and made all the rest run down under their hatches, crying out like creatures bewitched. In a word, we presently took the ship, and having secured her men, we chased the other two. One was chiefly filled with women, and the other with lumber. Upon the whole, as the grand-daughter of the Great Mogul was our prize in the first ship, so in the second was her women, or, in a word, her household, her eunuchs, all the necessaries of her wardrobe, of her stables, and of her kitchen; and in the last, great quantities of household stuff, and things less costly, though not less useful.

But the first was the main prize. When my men had entered and mastered the ship, one of our lieutenants called for me, and accordingly I jumped on board. He told me he thought nobody but I ought to go into the great cabin, or, at least, nobody should go there before me; for that the lady herself and all her attendance was there, and he feared the men were so heated they would murder them all, or do worse.

I immediately went to the great cabin door, taking the lieutenant that called me along with me, and caused the cabin door to be opened. But such a sight of glory and misery was never seen by buccaneer before. The queen (for such she was to have been) was all in gold and silver, but frighted and crying, and, at the sight of me, she appeared trembling, and just as if she was going to die. She sat on the side of a kind of a bed like a couch, with no canopy over it, or any covering; only made to lie

down upon. She was, in a manner, covered with diamonds, and I, like a true pirate, soon let her see that I had more mind to the jewels than to the lady.

However, before I touched her, I ordered the lieutenant to place a guard at the cabin door, and fastening the door, shut us both in, which he did. The lady was young, and, I suppose, in their country esteem, very handsome, but she was not very much so in my thoughts. At first, her fright, and the danger she thought she was in of being killed, taught her to do everything that she thought might interpose between her and danger, and that was to take off her jewels as fast as she could, and give them to me; and I, without any great compliment, took them as fast as she gave them me, and put them into my pocket, taking no great notice of them or of her, which frighted her worse than all the rest, and she said something which I could not understand. However, two of the other ladies came, all crying, and kneeled down to me with their hands lifted up. What they meant, I knew not at first; but by their gestures and pointings I found at last it was to beg the young queen's life, and that I would not kill her.

I have heard that it has been reported in England that I ravished this lady, and then used her most barbarously; but they wrong me, for I never offered anything of that kind to her, I assure you; nay, I was so far from being inclined to it that I did not like her; and there was one of her ladies who I found much more agreeable to me, and who I was afterwards something free with, but not even with her either by force or by way of ravishing.

We did indeed ravish them of all their wealth; for that was what we wanted, not the women; nor was there any other ravishing among those in the great cabin, that I can assure you. As for the ship

where the women of inferior rank were, and who were in number almost two hundred, I cannot answer for what might happen in the first heat; but even there, after the first heat of our men was over, what was done was done quietly; for I have heard some of the men say that there was not a woman among them but what was lain with four or five times over, that is to say, by so many several men; for as the women made no opposition, so the men even took those that were next them without ceremony, when and where opportunity offered.

When the three ladies kneeled down to me, and as soon as I understood what it was for, I let them know I would not hurt the queen, nor let any one else hurt her, but that she must give me all her jewels and money. Upon this they acquainted her that I would save her life; and no sooner had they assured her of that but she got up smiling, and went to a fine Indian cabinet, and opened a private drawer, from whence she took another little thing full of little square drawers and holes. This she brings to me in her hand, and offered to kneel down to give it me. This innocent usage began to rouse some good-nature in me (though I never had much), and I would not let her kneel; but sitting down myself on the side of her couch or bed, made a motion to her to sit down too. But here she was frighted again, it seems, at what I had no thought of; for, sitting on her bed, she thought I would pull her down to lie with her, and so did all her women too; for they began to hold their hands before their faces, which, as I understood afterwards, was that they might not see me turn up their queen. But as I did not offer anything of that kind, only made her sit down by me, they began all to be easier after some time, and she gave me the little box or casket, I know not what to call it, but it was full of invaluable jewels. I have

them still in my keeping, and wish they were safe in England; for I doubt not but some of them are fit to be placed on the king's crown.

Being master of this treasure, I was very willing to be good-humoured to the persons; so I went out of the cabin, and caused the women to be left alone, causing the guard to be kept still, that they might receive no more injury than I would do them myself.

After I had been out of the cabin some time, a slave of the women's came to me, and made sign to me that the queen would speak with me again. I made signs back that I would come and dine with her majesty; and accordingly I ordered that her servants should prepare her dinner, and carry it in, and then call me. They provided her repast after the usual manner, and when she saw it brought in she appeared pleased, and more when she saw me come in after it; for she was exceedingly pleased that I had caused a guard to keep the rest of my men from her; and she had, it seems, been told how rude they had been to some of the women that belonged to her.

When I came in, she rose up, and paid me such respect as I did not well know how to receive, and not in the least how to return. If she had understood English, I could have said plainly, and in good rough words, "Madam, be easy; we are rude, rough-hewn fellows, but none of our men should hurt you, or touch you; I will be your guard and protection; we are for money indeed, and we shall take what you have, but we will do you no other harm." But as I could not talk thus to her, I scarce knew what to say; but I sat down, and made signs to have her sit down and eat, which she did, but with so much ceremony that I did not know well what to do with it.

After we had eaten, she rose up again, and drinking some water out of a china cup, sat her down on the side of the couch as before. When she saw I had done eating, she went then to another cabinet, and pulling out a drawer, she brought it to me; it was full of small pieces of gold coin of Pegu, about as big as an English half-guinea, and I think there were three thousand of them. She opened several other drawers, and showed me the wealth that was in them, and then gave me the key of the whole.

We had revelled thus all day, and part of the next day, in a bottomless sea of riches, when my lieutenant began to tell me, we must consider what to do with our prisoners and the ships, for that there was no subsisting in that manner; besides, he hinted privately, that the men would be ruined by lying with the women in the other ship, where all sorts of liberty was both given and taken. Upon this we called a short council, and concluded to carry the great ship away with us, but to put all the prisoners — queen, ladies, and all the rest — into the lesser vessels, and let them go; and so far was I from ravishing this lady, as I hear is reported of me, that though I might rifle her of everything else, yet, I assure you, I let her go untouched for me, or, as I am satisfied, for any one of my men; nay, when we dismissed them, we gave her leave to take a great many things of value with her, which she would have been plundered of if I had not been so careful of her.

We had now wealth enough not only to make us rich, but almost to have made a nation rich; and to tell you the truth, considering the costly things we took here, which we did not know the value of, and besides gold and silver and jewels, — I say, we never knew how rich we were; besides which we had a great quantity of bales of goods, as well calicoes as wrought silks, which, being for sale, were perhaps as a cargo

of goods to answer the bills which might be drawn upon them for the account of the bride's portion; all which fell into our hands, with a great sum in silver coin, too big to talk of among Englishmen, especially while I am living, for reasons which I may give you hereafter.

I had nothing to do now but to think of coming back to Madagascar, so we made the best of our way; only that, to make us quite distracted with our other joy, we took in our way a small bark loaden with arrack and rice, which was good sauce to our other purchase; for if the women made our men drunk before, this arrack made them quite mad; and they had so little government of themselves with it, that I think it might be said the whole ship's crew was drunk for above a fortnight together, till six or seven of them killed themselves; two fell overboard and were drowned, and several more fell into raging fevers, and it was a wonder, on the whole, they were not all killed with it.

But, to make short of the story as we did of the voyage, we had a very pleasant voyage, except those disasters, and we came safe back to our comrades at Madagascar, having been absent in all about seven months.

We found them in very good health, and longing to hear from us; and we were, you may be assured, welcome to them; for now we had amassed such a treasure as no society of men ever possessed in this world before us; neither could we ever bring it to an estimation, for we could not bring particular things to a just valuation.

We lived now and enjoyed ourselves in full security; for though some of the European nations, and perhaps all of them, had heard of us, yet they heard such formidable things of us, such terrible stories of our great strength, as well as of our great wealth,

that they had no thought of undertaking anything against us; for, as I have understood, they were told at London, that we were no less than 5000 men, that we had built a regular fortress for our defence by land, and that we had twenty sail of ships; and I have been told that in France they have heard the same thing. But nothing of all this was ever true, any more than it was true that we offered ten millions to the Government of England for our pardon.

It is true that had the queen sent any intimation to us of a pardon, and that we should have been received to grace at home, we should all have very willingly embraced it; for we had money enough to have encouraged us all to live honest; and if we had been asked for a million of pieces of eight, or a million of pounds sterling, to have purchased our pardon, we should have been very ready to have complied with it; for we really knew not what to do with ourselves or with our wealth; and the only thing we had now before us was to consider what method to take for getting home, if possible, to our own country with our wealth, or at least with such part of it as would secure us easy and comfortable lives; and, for my own part, I resolved, if I could, to make full satisfaction to all the persons who I had wronged in England — I mean by that, such people as I had injured by running away with the ship; as well the owners and the master or captain, who I set ashore in Spain, as the merchant whose goods I had taken with the ship; and I was daily forming schemes in my thoughts how to bring this to pass. But we all concluded that it was impossible for us to accomplish our desires as to that part, seeing the fact of our piracy was now so public all over the world, that there was not any nation in the world that would receive us or any of us; but would immediately seize

on our wealth, and execute us for pirates and robbers of all nations.

This was confirmed to us after some time, with all the particulars, as it is now understood in Europe; for as the fame of our wealth and power was such that it made all the world afraid of us, so it brought some of the like sort with ourselves to join with us from all parts of the world; and particularly, we had a bark and sixty men of all nations from Martinico, who had been cruising in the Gulf of Florida, came over to us to try if they could mend their fortunes; and these went afterwards to the Gulf of Persia, where they took some prizes, and returned to us again. We had after this three pirate ships came to us, most English, who had done some exploits on the coast of Guinea, had made several good prizes, and were all tolerably rich.

As these people came and sheltered with us, so they came and went as they would, and sometimes some of our men went with them, sometimes theirs stayed with us. But by that coming and going our men found ways and means to convey themselves away, some one way, some another. For I should have told you at first, that after we had such intelligence from England, viz., that they knew of all our successful enterprises, and that there was no hopes of our returning, especially of mine and some other men who were known, — I say, after this we called a general council to consider what to do; and there, one and all, we concluded that we lived very happy where we were; that if any of us had a mind to venture to get away to any part of the world, none should hinder them; but that else we would continue where we were; and that the first opportunity we had we would cruise upon the English East India ships, and do them what spoil we could, fancying that some time or other they would proclaim a pardon to us

if we would come in; and if they did, then we would accept of it.

Under these circumstances we remained here, off and on, first and last, above three years more; during which time our number increased so, especially at first, that we were once eight hundred men, stout, brave fellows, and as good sailors as any in the world. Our number decreased afterwards upon several occasions: such as the going abroad to cruise, wandering to the south part of the island (as above), getting on board European ships, and the like.

After I perceived that a great many of our men were gone off, and had carried their wealth with them, I began to cast about in my own thoughts how I should make my way home also. Innumerable difficulties presented to my view; when at last an account of some of our men's escape into Persia encouraged me. The story was this. One of the small barks we had taken went to Gujerat to get rice, and having secured a cargo, but not loaded it, ten of our men resolved to attempt their escape; and accordingly they dressed themselves like merchant strangers, and bought several sorts of goods there, such as an Englishman who they found there assisted them to buy; and with their bales (but in them packed up all the rest of their money) they went up to Bassorah, in the Gulf of Persia, and so travelled as merchants with the caravan to Aleppo, and we never heard any more of them, but that they went clean off with all their cargo.

This filled my head with schemes for my own deliverance; but, however, it was a year more before I attempted anything, and not till I found that many of our men shifted off, some and some, nor did any of them miscarry. Some went one way, some another; some lost their money, and some saved it;

nay, some carried it away with them, and some left it behind them. As for me, I discovered my intentions to nobody, but made them all believe I would stay here till some of them should come and fetch me off, and pretended to make every man that went off promise to come for me if it ever was in his power, and gave every one of them signals to make for me when they came back, upon which I would certainly come off to them. At the same time, nothing was more certain than that I intended from the beginning to get away from the island as soon as I could any way make my way with safety to any part of the world.

It was still above two years after this that I remained in the island; nor could I, in all that time, find any probable means for removing myself with safety.

One of the ways I thought to have made my escape was this. I went to sea in a long-boat a-fishing (as we often did), and having a sail to the boat, we were out two or three days together. At length it came into my thoughts that we might cruise about the island in this long-boat a great way, and perhaps some adventure might happen to us which we might make something of; so I told them I had a mind to make a voyage with the long-boat to see what would happen.

To this purpose we built upon her, made a state-room in the middle, and clapped four patereroes upon her gunnel, and away we went, being sixteen stout fellows in the boat, not reckoning myself. Thus we ran away, as it were, from the rest of our crew, though not a man of us knew our own minds as to whither we were going, or upon what design. In this frolic we ran south quite away to the Bay of St. Augustine's, in the latitude of twenty-four degrees, where the ships from Europe often put in for water and provisions.

Here we put in, not knowing well what to do next. I thought myself disappointed very much that we saw no European ship here, though afterwards I saw my mistake, and found that it was better for us that we were in that port first. We went boldly on shore; for as to the natives, we understood how to manage them well enough, knew all their customs, and the manner of their treating with strangers as to peace or war; their temper, and how to oblige them, or behave if they were disobliged; so we went, I say, boldly on shore, and there we began to chaffer with them for some provisions, such as we wanted.

We had not been here above two or three days, but that, early in the morning, the weather thick and hazy, we heard several guns fire at sea. We were not at a loss to know what they meant, and that it was certainly some European ships coming in, and who gave the signal to one another that they had made the land, which they could easily see from the sea, though we, who were also within the bay, could not see them from the shore. However, in a few hours, the weather clearing up, we saw plainly five large ships, three with English colours and two with Dutch, standing into the bay, and in about four or five hours more they came to an anchor.

A little while after they were come to an anchor, their boats began to come on shore to the usual watering-place to fill their casks; and while they were doing that, the rest of the men looked about them a little, as usual, though at first they did not stir very far from their boats.

I had now a nice game to play, as any man in the world ever had. It was absolutely necessary for us to speak with these men; and yet how to speak with them, and not have them speak with us in a manner that we should not like, that was the main point. It was with a great deal of impatience that we lay still

one whole day, and saw their boats come on shore, and go on board again, and we were so irresolute all the while that we knew not what to do; at last I told my men, it was absolutely necessary we should speak with them, and seeing we could not agree upon the method how to do it friendly and fairly, I was resolved to do it by force, and that if they would take my advice, we would place ourselves in ambuscade upon the land somewhere, that we might see them when they were on shore, and the first man that straggled from the rest we would clap in upon and seize him, and three or four of them if we could. As for our boat, we had secured it in a creek three or four miles up the country, where it was secure enough out of their reach or knowledge.

With this resolution we placed ourselves in two gangs — eleven of us in one place, and only three of us in another, and very close we lay. The place we chose for our ambuscade was on the side of a rising ground almost a mile from the watering place, but where we could see them all come towards the shore, and see them if they did but set their foot on shore.

As we understood afterwards, they had the knowledge of our being upon the island, but knew not in what part of it, and were therefore very cautious and wary how they went on shore, and came all very well armed. This gave us a new difficulty, for in the very first excursion that any of them made from the watering place, there was not less than twenty of them, all well armed, and they passed by in our sight; but as we were out of their sight, we were all very well pleased with seeing them go by, and being not obliged to meddle with them or show ourselves.

But we had not long lain in this circumstance, but, by what occasion we knew not, five of the gentlemen

tars were pleased to be willing to go no farther with their companions; and thinking all safe behind them, because they had found no disturbance in their going out, came back the same way, straggling without any guard or regard.

I thought now was our time to show ourselves; so taking them as they came by the place where we lay in ambuscade, we placed ourselves just in their way, and as they were entering a little thicket of trees, we appeared; and calling to them in English, told them they were our prisoners; that if they yielded, we would use them very well, but if they offered to resist, they should have no quarter. One of them looking behind, as if he would show us a pair of heels, I called to him, and told him if he attempted to run for it he was a dead man, unless he could outrun a musket-bullet; and that we would soon let him see we had more men in our company; and so giving the signal appointed, our three men, who lay at a distance, showed themselves in the rear.

When they saw this, one of them, who appeared as their leader, but was only the purser's clerk, asked who we were they must yield to, and if we were Christians? I told them jestingly, we were good, honest Christian pirates, and belonged to Captain Avery (not at all letting them know that I was Avery himself), and if they yielded, it was enough; that we assured them they should have fair quarter and good usage upon our honour; but that they must resolve immediately, or else they would be surrounded with five hundred men, and we could not answer for what they might do to them.

They yielded presently upon this news, and delivered their arms; and we carried them away to our tent, which we had built near the place where our boat lay. Here I entered into a particular serious discourse with them about Captain Avery, for 't was

this I wanted upon several accounts. First, I wanted to inquire what news they had had of us in Europe, and then to give them ideas of our numbers and power as romantic as I could.

They told us, that they had heard of the great booty Captain Avery had taken in the Bay of Bengal; and among the rest, a bloody story was related of Avery himself, viz., that he ravished the Great Mogul's daughter, who was going to be married to the Prince of Pegu; that we ravished and forced all the ladies attending her train, and then threw them into the sea, or cut their throats; and that we had gotten a booty of ten millions in gold and silver, besides an inestimable treasure of jewels, diamonds, pearls, &c.; but that we had committed most inhuman barbarities on the innocent people that fell into our hands. They then told us, but in a broken, imperfect account, how the Great Mogul had resented it; and that he had raised a great army against the English factories, resolving to root them out of his dominions; but that the Company had appeased him by presents, and by assuring him that the men who did it were rebels to the English Government, and that the Queen of England would hang them all whenever they could be taken. I smiled at that, and told them Captain Avery would give them leave to hang him and all his men when they could take them; but that I could assure him they were too strong to be taken; that if the Government of England went about to provoke them, Captain Avery would soon make those seas too hot for the English, and they might even give over their East India trade, for they little thought the circumstances Captain Avery was in.

This I did, as well to know what notions you had of us in England as to give a formidable account of us and of our circumstances to England, which I knew

might be of use to us several ways hereafter. Then I made him tell his part, which he did freely enough. He told us that indeed they had received an account in England that we were exceeding strong; that we had several gangs of pirates from the Spanish West Indies that had taken great booties there, and were gone all to Madagascar to join Captain Avery; that he had taken three great East India ships — one Dutch, and two Portuguese — which they had converted into men-of-war; that he had six thousand men under his command; that he had twelve ships, whereof three carried sixty guns apiece, and six more of them from forty to fifty guns; that they had built a large fort to secure their habitations; and that they had two large towns, one on one side, one on the other of a river, covered by the said fort, and two great platforms or batteries of guns to defend the entrance where their ships rode; that they had an immense invaluable treasure; and that it was said Captain Avery was resolved to people the whole island of Madagascar with Europeans, and to get women from Jamaica and the Leeward Islands; and that it was not doubted but he would subdue, and make himself king of that country, if he was let alone a little longer.

I had enjoined my men, in the first place, not to let him know that I was Avery, but that I was one of his captains; and in the next place, not to say a word, but just ay and no, as things occurred, and leave the rest to me. I heard him patiently out in all the particulars above; and when he had done, I told him it was true Captain Avery was in the island of Madagascar, and that several other societies of buccaneers and freebooters were joined him from the Spanish West Indies; "for," said I, "the plenty and ease of our living here is such, and we are so safe from all the world, that we do not doubt but we

shall be twenty thousand men in a very little time, when two ships which we have sent to the West Indies shall come back, and shall have told the buccaneers at the Bay of Campeachy how we live here.

"But," said I, "you in England greatly wrong Captain Avery, our general (so I called myself, to advance our credit); for I can assure you, that except plundering the ship, and taking that immense booty which he got in the great ship where the Great Mogul's daughter was, there was not the least injury done to the lady, no ravishing or violence done to her, or any of her attendance; and this," said I, "you may take of my certain knowledge; for," said I, "I was on board the ship with our general all the while. And if any of the princess's women were lain with," said I, "on board the other ship, as I believe most of them were, yet it was done with their own consent and good-will, and no otherwise; and they were all dismissed afterwards, without so much as being put in fear or apprehensions of life or honour." This I assured him (as indeed it was just), and told him I hoped, if ever he came safe to England, he would do Captain Avery, and all of us, justice in that particular case.

As to our being well fortified on the island and our numbers, I assured them all they were far from thinking too much of us; that we had a very good fleet, and a very good harbour for them; that we were not afraid of any force from Europe, either by land or water; that it was indeed in vain to pretend to attack us by force; that the only way for the Government of England to bring us back to our duty would be to send a proclamation from England with the Queen's pardon for our general and all his people if they came in by a certain time. "And," added I, "we know you want money in England. I

dare say," said I, "our general, Captain Avery, and his particular gang, who have the main riches, would not grudge to advance five or six millions of ducats to the Government to give them leave to return in peace to England and sit down quietly with the rest."

This discourse, I suppose, was the ground of the rumour you have had in England that Avery had offered to come in and submit, and would give six millions for his pardon; for as these men were soon after this dismissed, and went back to England, there is no doubt but they gave a particular account of the conference they had with me, who they called one of Captain Avery's captains.

We kept these five men six or seven days, and we pretended to show them the country from some of the hills, calling it all our own, and pointing every way how many miles we extended ourselves; we made them believe also that all the rest of the country was at our disposal, that the whole island was at our beck; we told them we had treasure enough to enrich the whole kingdom of England; that our general had several millions in diamonds, and we had many tons of silver and gold; that we had fifty large barns full of all sorts of goods, as well European as Indian; and that it would be truly the best way for England to do as they said, namely, to invite us all home by a proclamation with a pardon. "And if they would do this," said I, "they can ask no reasonable sum, but our general might advance it;" besides getting home such a body of stout, able seamen as we were, such a number of ships, and such a quantity of rich goods.

We had several long discourses with them upon these heads, and our frequent offering this part to them with a kind of feeling warmth (for it was what we all desired) has caused, I doubt not, the rumour

of such great offers made by us, and of a letter sent by me to the queen, to beg her Majesty's pardon for myself and my company, and offering ten millions of money advance to the queen for the public service; all which is a mere fiction of the brain of those which have published it; neither were we in any condition to make such an offer; neither did I, or any of my crew or company, ever write a letter or petition to the queen, or to any one in the Government, or make any application in the case other than as above, which was only matter of conversation or private discourse.

Nor were we so strong in men or ships, or anything like it. You have heard of the number of ships which we had now with us, which amounted to two ships and a sloop, and no more; except the prize in which we took the Mogul's daughter (which ship we called *The Great Mogul*), but she was fit for nothing; for she would neither sail or steer worth a farthing, and indeed was fit for no use but a hulk or a guardship.

As to numbers of men, they belied us strangely, and particularly they seemed only to mistake thousands for hundreds; for whereas they told us that you in England had a report of our being six thousand men, I must acknowledge that I think we were never, when we were at the most, above six hundred; and at the time when I quitted the country, I left about one hundred and eight men there, and no more; and, I am assured, all the number that now remains there is not above twenty-two men, no, not in the whole island.

Well, we thought, however, that it was no business of ours at that time to undeceive them in their high opinion of our great strength; so we took care to magnify ourselves and the strength of our general (meaning myself), that they might carry the story to

England, depending upon it that "a tale loses nothing in the carrying." When they told us of our fort and the batteries at the mouth of the river where our ships lie, we insinuated that it was a place where we did not fear all the fleets in the world attacking us; and when they told us of the number of men, we strove to make them believe that they were much many more.

At length the poor men began to be tired of us, and indeed we began to be tired of them, for we began to be afraid very much that they would pry a little way into our affairs, and that a little too narrowly that way; so as they began to solicit their deliverance, we began to listen to their importunities. In a word, we agreed to dismiss them; and accordingly we gave them leave to go away to the watering place, as if they had made their escape from us; which they did, carrying away their heads full of all those unlikely projected things which you have heard above.

In all this, however, I had not the good luck to advance one step towards my own escape; and here is one thing remarkable, viz., that the great mass of wealth I had gotten together was so far from forwarding my deliverance, that it really was the only thing that hindered it most effectually; and I was so sensible of it, that I resolved once to be gone, and leave all my wealth behind me, except some jewels, as several of our men had done already. For many of them were so impatient of staying here, that they found means to get away, some and some, with no more money than they could carry about them; particularly, thirteen of our men made themselves a kind of shallop with a mast and sail, and went for the Red Sea, having two patereroes for her defence, and every man a thousand pieces of eight, and no

more, except that one Macmow, an Irishman, who was their captain, had five rubies and a diamond, which he got among the plunder of the Mogul's ship.

These men, as I heard, got safe to Mocha, in the Arabian Gulf, where they fetch the coffee, and their captain managed for them all so well, that of pirates he made them merchants, laid out all the stock in coffee, and got a vessel to carry it up the Red Sea to Suez, where they sold it to the factors for the European merchants, and came all safe to Alexandria, where they parted the money again; and then every one separated as they thought fit, and went their own way.

We heard of this by mere accident afterwards, and I confess I envied their success; and though it was a great while after this that I took a like run, yet you may be sure I formed a resolution from that time to do the like; and most of the time that I stayed after this was employed in picking out a suitable gang that I might depend upon, as well to trust with the secret of my going away, as to take with me, and on whom I might depend, and they on me, for keeping one another's counsel when we should come into Europe.

It was in pursuit of this resolution that I went this little voyage to the south of the island, and the gang I took with me proved very trusty, but we found no opportunity then for our escape. Two of the men that we took prisoners would fain have gone with us, but we resolved to trust none of them with the real and true discovery of our circumstances; and as we had made them believe mighty things of ourselves, and of the posture of our settlement, that we had 5000 men, twelve men-of-war, and the like, we were resolved they should carry the delusion away with

them, and that nobody should undeceive them; because, though we had not such an immense wealth as was reported, and so as to be able to offer ten millions for our pardon, yet we had a very great treasure; and being nothing near so strong as they had imagined, we might have been made a prey, with all our riches, to any set of adventurers who might undertake to attempt us, by consent of the Government of England, and make the expedition "No purchase no pay."

For this reason we civilly declined them, told them we had wealth enough, and therefore did not now cruise abroad as we used to do, unless we should hear of another wedding of a king's daughter, or unless some rich fleet or some heathen kingdom was to be attempted, and that therefore a new-comer, or any body of new-comers, could do themselves no good by coming over to us. If any gang of pirates or buccaneers would go upon their adventures, and when they had made themselves rich, would come and settle with us, we would take them into our protection, and give them land to build towns and habitations for themselves, and so in time we might become a great nation, and inhabit the whole island. I told them the Romans themselves were at first no better than such a gang of rovers as we were; and who knew but our general, Captain Avery, might lay the foundation of as great an empire as they?

These big words amazed the fellows, and answered my end to a tittle; for they told such rhodomontading stories of us when they came back to their ships, and from them it spread so universally all over the East Indies (for they were outward bound), that none of the English or Dutch ships would come near Madagascar again, if they could help it, for a great while,

for fear of us; and we, who were soon after this dwindled away to less than one hundred men, were very glad to have them think us too strong to meddle with, or so strong that nobody durst come near us.

After these men were gone, we roved about to the east side of the island, and, in a word, knew not what to do or what course to take, for we durst not put out to sea in such a bauble of a boat as we had under us; but tired at last, we came back to the south point of the island again. In our rounding the island we saw a great English-built ship at sea, but at too far distance to speak with her; and if it had not, we knew not what to have said to her, for we were not strong enough to attack her. We judged by her course she stood away from the isle of St. Maurice or Mauritius for the Cape of Good Hope, and must, as we supposed, come from the Malabar coast, bound home for England; so we let her go.

We are now returned back to our settlement on the north part of the island; and I have singled out about twelve or thirteen bold, brave fellows, with whom I am resolved to venture to the Gulf of Persia. Twenty more of our men have agreed to carry us thither as passengers in the sloop, and try their own fortunes afterwards, for they allow we are enough to go together. We resolve, when we come to Bassorah, to separate into three companies, as if we did not know one another; to dress ourselves as merchants, for now we look like hell-hounds and vagabonds; but when we are well dressed we expect to look as other men do. If I come thither, I suppose, with two more, to give my companions the slip, and travel as Armenians through Persia to the Caspian Sea, so to Constantinople; and I doubt not we shall, one

y or other, find our way, with our merchandise
l money, to come into France, if not quite home
my own country. Assure yourself, when I arrive
any part of Christendom, I will give you a farther
ount of my adventures.

Your Friend and Servant,

AVERY.

THE END OF THE FIRST LETTER.

A SECOND LETTER

SIR, — I wrote my last letter to you from Madagascar, where I had continued so long till my people began to drop from me, some and some, and indeed I had at last but few left; so that I began to apprehend they would give an account in Europe how weak I was, and how easy it was to attack me; nay, and to make their peace, might some of them, at least, offer their service to be pilots to my port, and might guide the fleets or ships that should attempt me.

With these apprehensions, I not only was uneasy myself, but made all my men uneasy too; for as I was resolved to attempt my own escape, I did not care how many of my men went before me. But this you must take with you by-the-bye, that I never let them imagine that I intended to stir from the spot myself — I mean, after my return from the ramble that I had taken round the island, of which I have given you an account — but that I resolved to take up my rest in Madagascar as long as I lived; indeed, before I said otherwise, as I wrote you before, and made them all promise to fetch me away, but now I gave it out that I was resolved to live and die here; and therefore, a little before I resolved upon going, I set to work to build me a new house, and to plant me a pretty garden at a distance from our fort; only I had a select company, to whom I communicated everything, and who resolved that, at last, we would go all together, but that we would do it our own way.

When I had finished my new house (and a mighty

palace you would say it was if you had been to see it), I removed to it, with eight of the gang that were to be my fellow-adventurers; and to this place we carried all our private wealth, that is to say, jewels and gold. As to our share of silver, as it was too heavy to remove, and must be done in public, I was obliged to leave it behind; but we had a stratagem for that too, and it was thus: —

We had a sloop, as you have heard, and she lay in our harbour, 'tis true; but she lay ready to sail upon any occasion; and the men who were of our confederacy, who were not with me at my country house, were twelve in number. These men made a proposal that they would take the sloop and go away to the coast of Malabar, or where else they could speed to their mind, and buy a freight of rice for the public account. In a free state as we were, everybody was free to go wherever they would, so that nobody opposed them; the only dispute at any time was about taking the vessel we had to go in. However, as these men seemed only to act upon the public account, and to go to buy provisions, nobody offered to deny them the sloop, so they prepared for their voyage. Just as they were ready to go, one of them starts it to the rest, that it was very hazardous and difficult to run such a length every now and then to get a little rice, and if they would go, why should they not bring a good quantity? This was soon resolved; so they agreed they should take money with them to buy a good ship wherever they could find her, and then to buy a loading of rice to fill her up, and so come away with her.

When this was agreed, they resolved to take no money out of the grand stock, but to take such men's money as were gone and had left their money behind; and this being consented to, truly, my friends took the occasion, and took all their own money, and mine

(being sixty-four little chests of pieces of eight), and carried it on board, as if it had been of men that were pricked-run, and nobody took any notice of it. These twelve men had also now got twelve more with them, under pretence of manning a ship, if we should buy one, and in this pickle away they put to sea.

We had due notice of everything that was done; and having a signal given of the time they resolved to go, we packed up all our treasure, and began our march to the place appointed, which from our quarters was about forty miles farther north.

Our habitation, that is to say, my new house, was about sixteen miles up the country, so that the rest of our people could have no notice of our march; neither did they miss us, at least as I heard of, for we never heard any more of them; nor can I imagine what condition or circumstance they can be in at present if they are still upon the place, as, however, I believe some of them are.

We joined our comrades with a great deal of ease about three days afterwards; for we marched but softly, and they lay by for us. The night before we went on board, we made them a signal by fire, as we had appointed to let them know where we were, and that we were at hand; so they sent their boat and fetched us off, and we embarked without any notice taken by the rest.

As we were now loose and at sea, our next business was to resolve whither we should go; and I soon governed the point, resolving for Bassorah, in the Gulf of Persia, where I knew we might shift for ourselves. Accordingly we steered away for the Arabian coast, and had good weather for some time, even till we made the land at a great distance, when we steered eastward along the shore.

We saw several ships in our way, bound to and from the Red Sea, as we supposed; and at another

time we would have been sure to have spoken with them; but we had done pirating. Our business now was how to get off, and make our way to some retreat, where we might enjoy what we had got; so we took no notice of anything by the way. But when we was thus sailing merrily along, the weather began to change, the evening grew black and cloudy, and threatened a storm. We were in sight of a little island (I know nothing of its name), under which we might have anchored with safety enough, but our people made light of it, and went on.

About an hour after sunset the wind began to rise, and blew hard at N.E. and at N.E. by N., and in two hours' time increased to such a tempest as in all my rambles I never met with the like; we were not able to carry a knot of sail, or to know what to do, but to stow everything close, and let her drive; and in this condition we continued all the night, all the next day, and part of the night after. Towards morning the storm abated a little, but not so as to give us any prospect of pursuing our voyage; all the ease we had, was, that we could just carry a little sail to steady the vessel, and run away before it; which we did at that violent rate, that we never abated till we made land on the east side of Madagascar, the very land we came from, only on the other side of the island.

However, we were glad we had any place to run to for harbour; so we put in under the lee of a point of land that gave us shelter from the wind, and where we came to an anchor, after being all of us almost dead with the fatigue; and if our sloop had not been an extraordinary sea-boat, she could never have borne such a sea, for twelve days together, as we were in — the worst I ever saw before or since. We lay here, to refresh ourselves, about twenty days; and, indeed, the wind blew so hard all the while, that

if we had been disposed to go to sea, we could not have done it; and, being here, about seven of our men began to repent their bargain, and left us, which I was not sorry for. It seems the principal reason of their looking back was, their being of those who had left their money behind them. They did not leave us without our consent, and therefore our carpenters built them a boat during the three weeks we stayed here, and fitted it very handsomely for them, with a cabin for their convenience, and a mast and sail, with which they might very well sail round to our settlement, as we suppose they did. We gave them firearms and ammunition sufficient, and left them furnishing themselves with provisions; and this, we suppose, was the boat, though with other men in it, which adventured afterwards as far as the Cape of Good Hope, and was taken up by a Portuguese in distress, by which means they got passage for themselves to Lisbon, pretending they had made their escape from the pirates at Madagascar; but we were told that the Portuguese captain took a good deal of their money from them, under pretence of keeping it from his own seamen; and that when they came on shore and began to claim it, he threatened them with taking them up and prosecuting them for pirates, which made them compound with him, and take about 10,000 dollars for above 120,000 which they had with them; which, by the way, was but a scurvy trick. They had, it seems, a considerable quantity of gold among them, which they had the wit to conceal from the captain of the ship, and which was enough for such fellows as them, and more than they well knew what to do with; so that they were rich enough still, though the Portugal captain was, nevertheless, a knave for all that.

We left them here, as I have said, and put to sea

again; and in about twenty days' sail, having pretty good weather, we arrived at the Gulf of Persia. It would be too long to give you an account of the particular fortunes of some of our people after this, the variety of which would fill a volume by itself. But, in the first place, we, who were determined to travel, went on shore at Bassorah, leaving the rest of our men to buy rice, and load the larger vessel back to their comrades, which they promised to do; but how far they performed, I know not.

We were thirteen of us that went on shore here; from whence we hired a kind of barge, or rather a bark, which, after much difficulty, and very unhandy doings of the men whom we had hired, brought us to Babylon, or Bagdad, as it is now called.

Our treasure was so great, that if it had been known what we had about us, I am of opinion we should never have troubled Europe with our company. However, we got safe to Babylon, or Bagdad, where we kept ourselves incog. for a while, took a house by ourselves, and lay four or five days still, till we had got vests and long gowns made to appear abroad in as Armenian merchants. After we had got clothes, and looked like other people, we began to appear abroad; and I, that from the beginning had meditated my escape by myself, began now to put it into practice; and walking one morning upon the bank of the river Euphrates, I mused with myself what course I should take to make off, and get quite away from the gang, and let them not so much as suspect me.

While I was walking here, comes up one of my comrades, and one who I always took for my particular friend. "I know what you are employed in," said he, "while you seem only to be musing, and refreshing yourself with the cool breeze." "Why," said I, "what am I musing about?" "Why," said he, "you are studying how you should get away from us;

but muse upon it as long as you will," says he, "you shall never go without me, for I am resolved to go with you which way soever you take." "'T is true," says I, "I was musing which way I should go, but not which way I should go without you; for though I would be willing to part company, yet you cannot think I would go alone; and you know I have chosen you out from all the company to be the partner of all my adventures."

"Very well," says he; "but I am to tell you now that it is not only necessary that we should not go all together; but our men have all concluded that we should make our escape every one for himself, and should separate as we could; so that you need make no secret of your design any more than of the way you intend to take."

I was glad enough of this news, and it made me very easy in the preparations we made for our setting out; and the first thing we did was to get us more clothes, having some made of one fashion, some of another; but my friend and I, who resolved to keep together, made us clothes after the fashion of the Armenian merchants, whose country we pretended to travel through.

In the meantime, five of our men dressed like merchants; and laying out their money in raw silk, and wrought silks, and other goods of the country, proper for Europe (in which they were directed by an English merchant there), resolved to take the usual route, and travel by the caravans from Babylon to Aleppo, and so to Scanderoon, and we stayed and saw them and their bales go off in boats for a great town on the Euphrates, where the caravans begin to take up the passengers. The other six divided themselves: one half of them went for Agra, the country of the Great Mogul, resolving to go down the river Hoogly to Bengal; but whither they went afterward, or what course they took, I never

MEDITATING AN ESCAPE

Upon the bank of the [illegible] Euphrates [illegible] myself; but [illegible] I should [illegible]

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knew, neither whether they really went at all or not.

The other three went by sea, in a Persian vessel, back from the Red Sea to the Gulf of Mocha, and I heard of them all three at Marseilles; but whither they went afterwards I never knew, nor could I come to speak with them even there.

As for me and my friend, we first laid out all the silver we had in European ware, such as we knew would vend at Ispahan, which we carried upon twelve camels; and hiring some servants, as well for our guide as our guard, we set out.

The servants we hired were a kind of Arab, but rather looking like the Great Mogul's people, than real Arabians; and when we came into Persia, we found they were looked upon as no better than dogs, and were not only used ill, but that we were used ill for their sakes; and after we were come three days into the Persian dominions, we found ourselves obliged to part with them; so we gave them three dollars a man to go back again.

They understood their business very well, and knew well enough what was the reason of it, though we did not. However, we found we had committed a great mistake in it; for we perceived that they were so exasperated at being turned off, that they vowed to be revenged; and, indeed, they had their revenge to the full; for the same day, at night, they returned in the dark, and set eleven houses on fire in the town where we quartered; which, by the way, had gone near to have cost me my life, and would certainly have done so, if in the hurry I had not seized one of the incendiaries and delivered him up to them.

The people were so provoked at him that was taken that they fell upon him with all possible fury as the common incendiary and burner of the town,

and presently quitted us — for they had before vowed our destruction — but, as I said, quitted us immediately, and thronged about the wretch they had taken; and, indeed, I made no question but that they would have immediately murdered him — nay, that they would have torn him in pieces before they parted with him. But after they had vented their rage at him for some time with all possible reproaches and indignities, they carried him before the cadi, or judge of the place. The cadi, a wise, grave man, answered, no, he would not judge him at that time, for they were too hot and passionate to do justice; but they should come with him in the morning, when they were cool, and he would hear them.

It is true this was a most excellent step of the cadi as to the right way of doing justice; but it did not prove the most expedient in the present occasion, though that was none of his fault neither; for in the night the fellow got out of their hands, by what means or by whose assistance I never heard to this day; and the cadi fined the town in a considerable sum for letting a man accused of a capital crime make his escape before he was adjudged, and, as we call it, discharged according to law.

This was an eminent instance of the justice of these people; and though they were doubly enraged at the escape of the fellow, who, without doubt, was guilty, yet they never opened their mouths against the cadi, but acquiesced in his judgment as in that of an oracle, and submitted to the national censure, or censure according to the custom of their nation, which he had passed upon them in their public capacity for the escape of the man.

We were willing to get out of this place as soon as we could; for we found the people's rage, which wanted an object to vent itself upon, began to threaten us again. So having packed up our goods,

and gotten five ordinary camel-drivers for our servants in the country, we set out again.

The roads in Persia are not so much frequented as to be well accommodated with inns, so that several times we were obliged to lodge upon the ground in the way. But our new servants took care to furnish us with lodging; for as soon as we let them know we wanted rest, and inclined to stop, they set up a tent for us, in so short a time that we were scarce able to imagine it possible, and under this we encamped, our camels being just by us, and our servants and bales lying all hard by.

Once or twice we lodged in public inns, built at the King of Persia's charge. These are fair large buildings, built square, like a large inn; they have all of them large stables, and good forage for the camels and horses, and apartments for perhaps two or three hundred people, and they are called caravanseras, as being built to entertain whole caravans of travellers. On the great roads to Tauris and the side of Turkey they are all fortified, and are able to entertain five or six thousand people, and have a stock to furnish whatever number of men can come with provisions; nay, it has been known that whole armies of the Persians have on their march been furnished with provisions in one of these caravanseras, and that they have killed 2000 sheep for them in one night's time.

In this manner we travelled to Ispahan, the capital of Persia, where appearing as merchants, and with several camels loaden with merchandise, we passed all possibility of suspicion; and being perfectly easy, we continued here some time, sold our cargoes, and would gladly have remitted the money to other places, as for Constantinople in particular; but we found the Turks and Persians have no such thing as an exchange, by bills running between them

and other nations — no, nor between one town and another.

We were invited here by a sudden accident to have gone home by the Caspian Sea and Astrakhan, so through Muscovy; but I had heard so much of the barbarity of the Russians, the dangerous navigation of the Caspian Sea by reason of the calms and shoals, the hazard of being robbed by the Tartars on the river Volga, and the like, that I chose to travel to Constantinople, a journey through deserts, over mountains and wastes, among so many sorts of barbarians, that I would run any kind of hazards by sea before I would attempt such a thing again.

It would deserve another history to let you into all the different circumstances of this journey: how well I was used by some, and how ill by others — nay, how well by some Mohammedans, how ill by some Christians. But it shall suffice to tell you that I am at present at Constantinople; and though I write this here, I do not purpose to send it to you till I come to Marseilles, in France; from whence I intend to go and live in some inland town, where, as they have perhaps no notion of the sea, so they will not be inquisitive after us. — I am, &c.

FINIS.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE CARTOUCHEANS IN FRANCE

AN ACCOUNT OF THE CARTOUCHEANS *in* FRANCE

AS the robbery and murder committed in September last on the persons of four English gentlemen and their servants, near Calais, justly filled the world with a kind of an uncommon surprise, so France seemed more than ordinarily touched with it. The whole nation entertained the relation of it with horror, as if, however innocent, it had reflected upon the very name of France, and that it had been a fact so cruel, and so outrageously vile, that nothing like it had ever been committed but in France.

The robbery, had that alone been the case, had been no more than what gentlemen who travel are exposed to the hazard of in all countries; and the Government in France is answerable for no more than the ordinary care, which they always take in that kingdom, to preserve travellers from violence, which they ever have used the utmost diligence in, the king constantly punishing offenders in that case with the greatest severity.

But such a piece of savage cruelty as this was, in murdering the gentlemen without mercy after they had peaceably delivered their money into their hands, filled everybody with an inexpressible horror and amazement.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Orleans, besides having received repeated orders from his Majesty, who wept when he received an account of the horrid fact, — I say, his Royal Highness the Duke of Orleans, Prime Minister, testified his detestation of

the crime by his immediate application to a discovery of the murderers.

Letters were, without delay, issued to all the seaports, and to all the frontier towns, passages, and outlets from that kingdom into other foreign parts, to stop and examine all suspicious persons, and all that could not give a satisfactory account of themselves; and to detain them till an account was transmitted to Court, and orders returned about them. And, in consequence of those letters, abundance of suspicious persons were stopped in several places, as at Lisle in Flanders, at Metz, at Strasburg, &c., some of whom were criminals of different kinds, though not the particular persons who were wanted.

Nor did the Duke of Orleans content himself with this, but farther, to show the ardent desire he had to bring such flagrant villains to exemplary punishment, letters were written in his Majesty's name to the several princes and states bordering on the king's dominions, representing to them the horrid crime, and setting forth the just indignation his Majesty had conceived at the cruelty of it, with his resolution, if possible, to punish the offenders with the utmost severity, recommending it to them, with all possible earnestness, to stop all suspicious persons, and especially such as came immediately from France, and to give notice of it to the Secretary of State.

These letters were sent to the several courts of Brussels, Nancy in Lorraine, Turin, Liège, and Munster; to the Hague, to Cologne, Geneva, to the Swiss Cantons, and to most of the princes of Germany bordering on France.

In consequence of these letters also, several persons were stopped and seized at Turin, at Geneva, and at the Duke of Lorraine's court, and elsewhere, among whom at last two persons were found who, by many

suspicious circumstances, were judged concerned in this horrid murder and robbery.

Several persons also were taken up at Calais itself, at St. Omer, at Dunkirk, and at Lisle, and among these were three more who were also suspected. Upon the whole, these were all conveyed in chains, that is to say, chained down to the waggons in which they were carried, and brought to the prison of the Conciergerie at Paris.

Nor was this general search after robbers and thieves wholly in vain on other accounts as well as on account of this affair of the murder, for several gangs of outlaws and robbers being abroad, this severe search separated and dispersed them. Fearing to fall into the hands of justice, they fled some one way and some another, shunning as much as possible the search after one offence, lest they, though not guilty of that particular crime, should fall into the hands of justice; and though by this means many of them did escape, and are reserved, perhaps, to future mischief, their measure being not yet full, yet several persons were apprehended, who, but for this extraordinary search, had escaped; and some, in particular, of Cartouche's troop or gang were brought in from Lisle, of whom I shall have occasion to speak farther.

The officers of justice having examined the several prisoners, and the lieutenant of the police particularly aiming in all his examinations at the discovery of something about the murder of the five English gentlemen, they all stiffly denied their being any way concerned in it; nor could the torture of two fellows, sentenced to the wheel for other robberies, bring any light to the lieutenant in this affair, those fellows not being really concerned in it. So that, in a word, they began to despair of success, not believing that they had yet made any progress in the search of what they aimed at.

But after some time the said lieutenant of the police, or *lieutenant-criminel*, as he is there called, came to be informed that one of the persons who was supposed to be murdered had been carried into the hospital at Calais, and was recovered, though desperately wounded, and was afterwards gone into England. Upon this important advice the Prime Minister was applied to (his Royal Highness the Duke of Orleans having died some time before), and leave obtained to send into England to desire the person, who was servant to one of the murdered gentlemen, might be allowed to come over to Paris to see and be confronted with the said prisoners, which was readily granted in England, and the Englishman, whose name is Spindelow, came over to Paris accordingly.

When Spindelow arrived and was shown the persons, for the keeper or jailor of the Conciergerie was ordered to bring all his prisoners one by one before him without letting any of them know the reason of it, and prudently giving them all occasion to speak something or other so that he might hear their voices, it was no difficult thing for him to conclude that they were the murderers of his master Mr. Seabright, as well by their faces (for we do not hear they were masked when they committed the murder) as by their voices, both which, to be sure, had been so terrible to him when they gave him the wounds, which they thought had despatched him, that the impression was not easily worn out of his memory.

Wherefore Spindelow immediately singled out two of them, and, pointing at them, declared that he believed they were some of the murderers. These two were Joseph Bisseau, or Bizeau, and Peter le Febvre. 'T is said, but how true I know not, that Bizeau, when he had been named by Spindelow, and was afterwards told who that Spindelow was, said to his comrade, in a violent passion, "Voila! nous

sommes des hommes morts! We are all dead men!" Certain it is, they both discovered their surprise, when they were told who this Spindelow was, and that one of the men, who they verily believed they had murdered, was recovered, and was come to detect them. I say they were not able to conceal their guilt; the horror of the fact was to be seen in their faces, and it was easy to observe, without putting them to the torture, that they were the men.

Upon this their process was made, and the evidence of the Englishman was taken in form, according to the method of criminal process in France. They were frequently interrogated upon the particulars, but still had the impudence to deny it all. At length they were put to the ordinary question — that is to say, the torture — when they had still the resolution to deny that they knew anything of the matter.

During these proceedings the lieutenant-general of the police continued his diligence for the farther discovery of this bloody gang; and partly by the confession of other criminals, who were executed for other crimes, and partly by other concurring circumstances which he took hold of, he got the names of several other persons who he had reason to suspect, and especially of some women, who, though not immediately concerned in the murder itself, yet he found reason to believe were privy to it, as a secret, after it was committed, or had been concerned in concealing the murderers, knowing them to be such, and during the time the search was made for them, as before, and by whose means they were supposed to have made their escape, and perhaps afterwards hearing that they were inquired after, made their escape with them.

The names of some of these women are mentioned in the process, and, as we since learn, their persons are since taken, but are reserved in private prisons to be confronted with the rest of the murderers, when

they may fall into the hands of justice, as 't is not doubted but they will. Some of these names, I say, are mentioned in the process, such as Catharine Moffat, a Scotch woman; Mary Frances Beausse de Caron, who kept a cabaret or tavern at Beauval, and others.

Joseph Bizeau, the first of the two fellows now in examination, carried it for a considerable time with a kind of intrepid resolution, affecting to despise their interrogating him, whether by torture or otherwise, and confidently denied the fact he was charged with, behaving in a most audacious manner.

He did not deny but that he had been acquainted with the famous Cartouche, who he seldom named but with respect, and with the title of Captain, sometimes, perhaps, that of Colonel, greatly commending his courage and gallantry, and the bravery, as he called it, of sustaining the tortures which they put him to, reproaching his comrades that they did not, according to the oath which they had all taken, attempt to rescue and deliver him, though they had fallen in the action; which, as he said, was but a more honourable and easy way of dying than what they were almost sure of obtaining, seeing, as he said, they generally depended on coming all to the wheel at last, as indeed many of them did every day. All these discourses seemed to be made with such an air of desperation, and that he was touched with a mind sufficiently fired with courage for such an attempt, that when he upbraided the followers of Cartouche with having abandoned him, contrary to their solemn engagements, it could not be doubted that he would willingly have attempted it, and perhaps had resolved to do so, but was not able to bring the rest of the gang to join with him, though he had offered to lead them.

It was not without an uncommon passion that he discoursed of that matter; and when he entered into

the description of the manner how such an attempt was to have been undertaken, it was observable that a kind of rage possessed him, and he was all over inflamed to such a degree as might easily show he had spirit enough for the undertaking, if it had been yet to be done. And if we may give credit to what is with assurance reported of this Bizeau, he was not much behind his great captain in the worst part of his character; affecting also to be made captain after him, which when he could not obtain he separated himself from the grand gang, who robbed in the streets of Paris, and on the road to Châlons, and in the Forest of Orleans; and taking the more northern and western parts of France for his station, he robbed chiefly in Picardy, in Normandy, and on the frontiers of the Pays Conquis, attended with such a party of bold, desperate fellows like himself as he found willing to follow him, and with whom he committed many desperate villainies, and among the rest this horrid attack on the poor English gentlemen, of which we shall speak by itself.

The time of his imprisonment was not so long as that these things could be thus fully drawn from him in his ordinary discourse; neither did he, as we ever could hear of, make any formal confession in the manner here set down, though it is evident to many that conversed with him that the whole tenor of his conversation run upon these things, and that his whole confession, taken after the last torture, corresponded with them.

But the following account being communicated by a person of credit, who assured us that he had several particulars come to his hand of the wicked life of this Joseph Bizeau which were not yet made public, and might be very instructing if they were left on record, we could not but be of the same opinion, and have therefore taken out such parts as we found most likely

to be acceptable to the world, the whole being too long even for a book of twice the extent of this short tract; we have, I say, taken out some part of that large account to add to what we have from other hands.

He says that this Joseph Bizeau acknowledged he had used the trade long before Cartouche was heard of; that the said Cartouche was at first but an underling, a poor low-priced street-runner, a kind of a shop-lifter or pickpocket, and knew nothing of the matter, being only a disbanded foot-soldier, naked and almost starved, when, merely for his bold, audacious spirit, he was taken in, upon his humble petition, into the great society of gentlemen, as he called them, meaning the gang of highway robbers, who acted in a higher sphere of thievery, and had for some years plied the Forest of Orleans, the great road to Italy, and the woods about Fontainebleau, where they robbed with security as well as success, and were seldom attacked and never overcome.

He says he reflected upon Cartouche for, as he called it, forsaking that happy gang, his mind still hankering after his old trade of petty larceny or little thieving in the streets of Paris, where, however, he, having seen the manner of the gentlemen of the road, formed a new gang in his own way, and in time made himself master or captain over them, and with whom he committed a great many horrid murders, in which they were generally obliged, not only to kill those they robbed, but to mangle and cut in pieces the bodies of those they killed, so that they might not be known, and many times to throw the pieces or limbs of them into the Seine, that they might drive down the stream below the city, and then they were seldom heard of.

This trade, he says, Cartouche and his wretched

gang followed in Paris for something more than three years, during which time the city was a constant scene of blood and rapine. No man was safe in going abroad after candle-light, and especially no man was safe that received any considerable sum of money at the house or shop of any *banquier* (that is, merchant) or goldsmith, which is, in English, banker, for he was sure to be watched and followed. Then if they had no opportunity to attack the persons in that street while the money was about them, the house it was carried to was so strictly watched that they were sure it could not be carried out again, and then they failed not to find ways and means to get into it at night; and it was very seldom, if they once got sight of a sum of money in the day, but they found one way or other to come at it in the night.

All things, says our author, have their meridian, their ascension, and their declinations. Cartouche and his gang began to grow rich and formidable by the great success they met with, for they made prizes of exceeding value, even to the tune of fifty thousand livres, nay, a hundred thousand livres at a time. This raised and increased the fame of their management to such a degree that at length, in short, the gentlemen in the forest mentioned above began to think of going all to Paris to join themselves to Cartouche, and so make one body.

The thing was soon concluded, and a treaty or league, offensive and defensive, was made between them; so the outlying troop came all to Paris. But, adds our author, Cartouche would never yield that they should quite lay down the road-practice, as he called it, for that, besides the city, they should often have intelligence of good purchase to be made by those who plied in the country. He also thought it might be of service to their common interest to have always a strong cavalry in their service, and to

have thirty or forty good horses at command for any emergency that might offer.

This, says our author, I understand was Monsieur Bizeau's province for some time; and in this time they attacked two coaches in the road from Orleans to Fontainebleau, though attended by a retinue of fourteen gentlemen on horseback, among whom were three of the gendarmes with their whole mounting and arms, who yet they attacked with such vigour that, after a short but bloody dispute, the fourteen gentlemen were obliged to yield, two of the gendarmes being wounded, and two of the gentlemen killed and three wounded; after which 't is not to be doubted but the coaches, in which were only the ladies and the treasure, were more easily plundered. Here, it seems, they not only took the money, but having a house of retreat not far off, they drove the coaches thither, leaving the coachmen and postillions bound in the forest with the gentlemen; and as to the women, it seems they had their pleasure of them all night, when they acted some things with them which decency, says our author, does not permit me to write.

It seems they murdered none of them, though three or four of the ladies, all disconsolate and enraged, protested they had much rather have been killed outright than be treated as they had been. Whether any one believed them or not, says the author, that I did not inquire.

The booty they gained here was, it seems, very considerable; and as the intelligence of it came by express from Monsieur Cartouche at Paris, so, says our author, a proportionable share of it was faithfully reserved for him and his company at Paris, and was at their better leisure transmitted thither.

Bizeau, says the same author, received a shot in the side of his neck in that encounter, and a thrust with a sword, which, entering first a thick belt which

he had on, only glanced upon his side just above the hip, and did him but little hurt. The shot in his neck had very narrowly missed the jugular arteries, which, if it had cut, might have saved him from the wheel; but his time was not come, nor his wickedness filled up to its height.

They committed several other notorious robberies in the south part of France after this, as particularly one upon five foreign gentlemen, with their servants, near Pont à Beau Voisin, which is a bridge over a small river at the extremity of the King of France's dominions, and which parts France from Savoy, and is therefore called by the name of Pont à Beau Voisin, or the Bridge of Good Neighbourhood. Here, our author says, Bizeau, having but twelve men in his gang, was hard put to it; for the strangers being Germans, and very well armed, as also their servants, and well mounted, defended themselves with great bravery, charging three and three in a rank, and not firing till they came up to the teeth of the highwaymen, and then twice breaking quite through them, wheeling afterwards about to their own body.

At the first charge they made, says he, they dismounted two of the rogues, their horses being killed under them, and wounded two other of the men, and yet received no damage by the fire of the highwaymen. Then the second rank of the gentlemen coming up to charge with the like fierceness and resolution, Bizeau, says our author, found his men began to waver, and looked as if they did not know whether they should run for it or receive the fire; but he, giving a shout or huzza, and firing his fusee first to encourage them, they took heart and fought desperately, too, in their turn, so that the gentlemen who made the second charge lost one of their number, and could not break through as the other

had done, which discouraged them, and they were obliged to make their retreat as well as they could.

However, though they were repulsed, they were not yet mastered; but the first rank who made that bold charge having again loaded their fusees, they drew up all in a line with two small intervals, and stood ready to receive the rogues if they came on.

As the highwaymen appeared resolute also, and seemed to be preparing for a bold charge, the gentlemen, considering that it was their money chiefly which the rogues aimed at, and that they had better part with it than run the hazard of their lives, they resolved to parley, and to offer them a sum of money by way of capitulation; upon which one of the gentlemen advanced a considerable way from the rest, and waving a white handkerchief in his hand as a sign or flag of truce, desired to speak with one of the highwaymen, calling aloud to them.

Upon this one of the highwaymen came on, but as soon as the gentleman began to talk of delivering a sum of money, the rogue, with disdain, repeating the words, "A sum of money!" gave the gentleman a curse, and offered to have fired upon him with his fusee.

Unhappily for him his piece, snapping, did not go off, the flint perhaps being not good, or from what other cause our author knew not; but upon that insult in breach of the truce, the gentleman fired upon him, and, as our author says, killed him upon the spot.

Bizeau upon this advances himself with a white handkerchief as the other had done, and seeming not to approve what the other had done in presenting his piece while under a parley, came nearer, and made signs to the gentleman that he would not offer him any injury; so they revived the parley, and in a few words came to an agreement to accept of two hun-

dred pistoles, and the gentlemen to give their parole of honour that they would not cause any pursuit to be made after them in less than three days; so they marched off after having buried their comrade as well as they could, and their two dead horses. As to the gentleman who they thought had been killed, he was wounded with a shot in his leg and another in his arm, but was not dead, and went off with his friends to Grenoble.

Our author tells us of several very bold things done by this Bizeau in the course of his highway war; that his party increased to threescore men, all very well armed and very well mounted. Among these, he says, they robbed three coaches of the Duke de ——, the Spanish ambassador, though he had a detachment of the king's guards to attend them; that by a stratagem he found means to have counterfeit orders sent to the commanding officer to let the coaches go forward with only five troopers, and that he should halt at a certain bridge till the duke himself came up, so joining the party which escorted the duke, that they might be the stronger till they were past such a wood where, the order suggested, there had some robbers appeared.

These orders, it seems, he got delivered him, for they were in writing, by a messenger habited exactly as the guards; perhaps, says he, even by one of the troop who was one of their spies, for they had such in all the regiments which were posted at or near that part of the country.

The officer, says he, entirely deceived, and not dreaming of any forgery, halted as he was directed, and instead of leaving five troopers with the coaches, mistook the figure for a figure of three, as perhaps might be designed, and, unluckily, sent but three troopers with the coach, by which means the coaches were left naked, and were robbed, together with a

covered waggon which went with them, in which was great part of the ambassador's plate and some money, though not so much of the latter as they expected.

During that whole summer, says our author, they robbed in Alsatia, on the frontiers of Germany, and in the country between the Rhine and the Saar, and here they met with very great booty, the German gentlemen flocking into France that year to the Quincampoix Fair, as we called it, when the trade of stock-jobbing flourished to such a degree at Paris as to summons all the gentry of Europe thither to be undone.

While they robbed in Paris all the foreigners that came thither, it was a kind of tacit allowance to Bizeau and his gang to do the like with those they met with going thither; and our author is merry upon that subject, hinting that those who were robbed of their money before they came to Paris had the better of those who were not robbed till they came thither; for these, says he, lost only what they had about them, but those pawned their estates, drew bills, gave writings obligatory, and entered into a thousand unhappy snares and *faux pas*, to the ruin of their families and fortunes.

Here our author launches out into several particulars, and gives an account of the fate of some good families in Lorraine, others in Alsatia, others in Switzerland and Germany — how they bought up great quantities of the Mississippi stock at vast prices, obliging themselves by bills accepted, and fatal instruments upon their estates, to pay for them in so many days; all which in a few months fell down, by little and little, to nothing at all, to the utter ruin of their estates; and his account of these are so many, and some of them so tragical, that it is well worth reading indeed. But as they are too long for

this place, and not to our present purpose, we pass them over and return to the affair in hand — I mean the farther adventures of this band of plunderers, who ranged over the whole country without control; for, indeed, the Government was so busy, the king so young at that time, and the regent so engaged in other affairs, that no care was taken about things of so small a consequence as a few highwaymen.

But though Bizeau and his comrades had such very good luck — for I think, says our author, they had plundered so many travellers as that they had gotten together six or seven hundred thousand livres in the common stock, — I say, though these banditti had such surprising luck, yet Cartouche and his gang outdid them infinitely; for as the paper negotiation grew up to such an incredible height that the like had never been heard of in the world, so there was a particular circumstance in that negotiation which exposed people, in a most unaccountable manner, to the depredation of thieves, pickpockets, murderers, and the like. This our author describes at large, with the nature and reason of it; we shall only abridge that account, and give it in a few words thus: —

The Mississippi Company, whose stock rose thus unaccountably high, was, as a company, young in its business, and not thoroughly established, new additions and incorporating clauses and favours being added to it every day, such as the East India trade, the tobacco farm, the debts, the revenue, the bank, &c.; by this means no adjustment of stock being made, no books were kept, wherein every subscriber might have had credit for his stock.

Consequently, as the subscribers had no account in the Company's books, so neither were the purchasers entitled, by those accounts, to credit for the stock

they bought; in a word, they kept no transfer-book, in which the alienation of the right of every man to the stock which he bought should be seen, or could be proved.

Instead of this, the first subscribers only had tickets, or receipts, or certificates, call them as you will, given them, by which they were entitled to so much stock as those tickets did import; and as this ticket ran to themselves or the bearer, so the delivering such ticket was all that the seller had to give, and all that the buyer of stock could demand upon payment of his money.

Again, as these receipts had no ear-mark, no number or figures of any kind other than the day of the month when subscribed, and the quantity of stock they contained, so they could not be particularly known again or described; in short, he that had parted with a hundred thousand crowns for stock had nothing to show for it, or to entitle him to demand it of the company, but these bits of paper, which were the property of the bearer and of nobody else. So, by consequence, if any man lost his paper he lost his money, and that irrecoverably; he could not so much as cry it, nor could any man that found it, were he honestly inclined to restore it, ever know who was the right owner, except by the circumstance of the pocket-book or paper in which it might be wrapped up.

Hence nothing was more frequent in the middle of the hurries of the Quincampoix Street than to see men running and staring from one to another, confounded, and in a manner distracted, one having lost his pocket-book, others their letter-cases, others their table-books with their papers in them; and whenever such things happened, it was a million to one odds that they ever heard of them again.

The sum of the matter is this, that, in a word, this

circumstance of the papers was the encouragement of the robbers, and the raising the fame of Cartouche and his company; for now to get the paper of a stock was to get the stock, let it amount to what sum so ever; to pick a pocket and draw out a pocket-book was to get an estate, and it was a frequent thing to have some gentlemen in the crowd whose very pocket-books were worth many millions.

In this work Cartouche was successfully entered, and, if we may believe our author, he had such strange luck, that what with stealing in this manner several papers, and the rise or advance of the price upon those papers while they were in his hand, he was at one certain time master of many millions of livres in money and paper; nor did he, like other traders, endeavour to amass a bulky estate in the papers themselves, but after the price was risen to two thousand per cent. he prudently sold off and turned all into ready money.

And now, could his insatiable thirst of money have known any bounds, he had a happy opportunity in his hand to have withdrawn himself, not out of the wicked trade only, but out of the kingdom of France, and consequently out of the reach of justice, and so have lived in a figure infinitely above what he could ever have expected in the world; for he might have carried off above an hundred thousand pounds sterling in specie, and no man that had been injured by him had ever known who had done it, or he ever been in the reach of punishment for his rogueries, at least in this world.

But his fate was irrevocable, and the scaffold and the wheel waited for him, by an appointment that could by no means be diverted; so he went on from wicked to worst, till at length his name became famous, and the world has been filled with his his-

tory, of which, for that reason, we shall say no more at this time.

To return to our other captain thief, who was now coming forward apace, and who had perhaps been then as famous, had he not been eclipsed only by Cartouche. The fame, as is said above, of Cartouche's success brought almost all Bizeau's troop to desert him, who run away to Quincampoix in Paris; and at length Bizeau himself followed the course of fame, and went thither also.

Till now, says our author, the conduct of Cartouche had been admirably dexterous, subtle, and wary to the last degree; and so well had he managed, that notwithstanding his successes were so many, and his enterprises so great, yet he was never detected — no, not once. Some of his people and dependents were indeed catched in the fact, and received their reward; yet so faithful were they to him, or so ignorant of his true name, for he went by several names, that none of them ever accused him — no, not upon the rack; and this caused us to observe, as above, how fair an opportunity he had to have left off the trade, and to have made his retreat from the world, as other wealthy merchants do.

We are now to suppose all his cavalry, as I called them, dismounted, and the road being left free, the whole troop entered into the service of Monsieur Cartouche, and Bizeau himself among the rest, on which occasion our author makes this particular remark: Now, says he, the scene altered in Paris, for Cartouche and his followers performed their part by sleight of hand, and with admirable art got men's papers, and that, as above, was their money, and the losers were only robbed, that is, perhaps, ruined and undone. But Bizeau and his people understood not that part of the trade. They had no cunning; they knew how to give the muzzle of the pistol in a man's face and

say, "Stand and deliver;" but they did not know which way to dive into their pockets, and, by true sleight of hand, to whip off a pocket-book or a letter-case.

To make themselves amends for this deficiency, Cartouche supplied them, says our author, with setters and winkers, as the thieves' cant calls them — a sort of people who made it their business to watch the market, and see who sold and who bought the papers (for this was justly called a paper traffic), and to give intimation where they were to be found.

The consequence of this intelligence was, that when a gentleman had sold a paper stock, as it was called, and received the money, they never lost sight of him, till, if possible, they came at the money, whether with blood or without it. For example: —

If the gentleman went off with company to a cabaret (tavern), or to any eating-house to dinner, they followed, to be sure, and finding some pretence or other, they would, as soon as it was dark, send for him out into another room, and making a sham of business, collar him at once, and stripping him of what he had about him, leave him almost strangled and unable to call out for some time, so that they were sure to be gone off clear with the booty.

If this was not the case, and it was not found practicable to get him from his company, then they watched him home, and if it was in the street they found an opportunity to seize him, whether on the Pont Neuf, the Place des Victoires, or any other convenient place. They chopped in upon him, and then he was sure to be murdered, and perhaps thrown into the Seine; and many instances were to be found of this part of the practice at that time of day, nor did they ever show any mercy as we can hear of.

If neither of these were found practicable, then the gentleman possessed of the money was followed home

to his house, and there he had some chances for his money which before he had not; and, first, it was then inquired whether none of their outlying friends were placed in that house, that is to say, such as were placed as servants but were spies, to give notice when any booty was brought into such houses, and when it went out and where; or such as were thrust into houses by sleight just for the occasion, namely, to open a door or window in the night, and let the gang in to rifle the house.

In most or all these cases they seldom executed their designs without blood, for the booty they had in pursuit was generally so great, and the method of coming at it was naturally so violent, that there was no remedy but to murder the persons they attacked; and they were, indeed, almost obliged to this butchery by necessity; for that there was too much difficulty in coming at the prize if the person had life left to struggle for it or a voice to cry out, which, in a city so populous as that of Paris is, would not fail to bring help instantly about them. They were therefore obliged either immediately to cut the person's throat or to throw a handkerchief about his neck, or at one blow to knock him down and then despatch him, or they would be surrounded with people, and the soldiers, who were appointed on that extraordinary occasion to be always patrolling in the streets, would be upon them.

These things made Paris indeed be a dismal place to live in; nothing but known poverty was a protection, nothing but broad daylight and the open street a security, so that, after some time, those who were charged with great sums transacted nothing but in private, made no bargains in the Quincampoix but by whisper, and, as it were, in secret, or by appointed retirement to proper places. In a word, a general wariness possessed mankind, and they seemed to be

afraid of every one they met; they seemed to take everybody that did but look at them to be a thief, and to clap their hands immediately to the pocket where the letter-case lay if any man that they did not know came but near them.

It was not, indeed, likely that such a trade as this could hold long. In the middle of their success the price of their stocks began to fall, and the paper traffic sunk apace, till at last, as we all know, the nature of the thing changed, the shares were all registered, books and offices kept as in England to declare the property of things, and this put a full stop to the trade of robbing people of their papers.

In the middle of it all, too, their famous leader, Cartouche, was taken and brought to justice, and with him fell the most audacious, fortunate rogue that ever carried on so black a trade. What followed his being apprehended, and how he behaved; what influence it had upon the whole gang, and how he (Cartouche) was prosecuted by the lieutenant of the police; tortured, chained upon his attempt to escape, and at last broke alive on the wheel; all that part is made public already, nor does it relate to this part of our story.

Cartouche had indeed a hardship in the latter part of his time, if our author gives a true judgment of things, as we believe he does; for that his name by an accident being discovered by one of his gang who was executed, and that he was the captain of the whole gang, ever after that, whatever great villainy was performed, it was constantly placed to his account, and he became notorious for crimes that indeed he had no hand in; for after Bizeau and his party came into Paris, they did not only act, as is already observed, by other and differing measures than Cartouche had done, but they acted also in particular gangs and companies, neither depending

upon nor in concert with him, nor with one another, every one pursuing his own game, and taking in the assistance of any other only as necessity or want of help obliged him to it; nor did they any more share the booty they made after that among the whole body. In short, it broke up the society in a great measure; and though Paris was not at all relieved, but was rather fuller of robbers than ever, yet they were not so potent in making great attempts as when they acted in troops, nor for some time were there any great robberies committed upon the highway.

However, as is said above, Cartouche had the fame of all; every villainy lay at his door; nay, the very society of rogues were called by his name, and are so to this time; for if you would describe a hardened, desperate robber, he is called a Cartouchean; and this made him not only fare the worse when he was taken, but it made his danger the greater, and the Government the more bent upon taking him, setting a price upon his head, and waylaying him in every corner, so that after that he soon fell into the hands of justice, and made his exit as we have heard.

But now, says our author, you are to suppose Cartouche has had the *coup de grâce*, and is gone, but the gangs of rogues were so far from being separated other than as above, or diminished in their numbers, that they rather increased; and though the paper booties which formerly were made in the Quincampoix Street were ceased, yet we still heard of murders and robberies in the streets, breaking up houses and the like, as much and more than ever.

Fame, busy in new inventions, mustered up new leaders of the troop every day, and for some time after, every thief that was taken was called Cartouche's successor in the command, and had the title of captain; but this, our author assures us, was a vulgar error, and that, after Cartouche, they never

had any commander-in-chief or leader, but the whole body separated, and they wandered about in search after purchase as fate and their own vigilance directed.

This, says our author, brings me to a more particular inquiry after the fortunes of Monsieur Bizeau, who, in reality, ought much more to have been the talk of the world than Cartouche, as well by being a highwayman long before him, as that he continued so much longer.

Cartouche being dead, says our author, and the paper traffic sunk, as is said, Bizeau continued but a short while in Paris; though, while he did stay there, he says, he committed several robberies, particularly taking the Pont Neuf for his station. Here, says he, one night, watching his opportunity, he attacked a certain person of quality in his coach going home with four flambeaux and a suitable retinue. Bizeau, says he, had twelve stout fellows with him, and first he began by causing an artificial stop in the way by a cart or carriage, of which, they said, one of the wheels was broken, and Bizeau's men seemed to be busy about it, as if they had belonged to the cart; the gentleman's servants intermeddling to make way for their lord, they first picked a quarrel with them, and two or three of them were knocked down in an instant; the next moment the lord, or whatever he was, found all his four flambeaux were dashed out and tossed into the Seine, and one of his men with them; that instant a bold fellow letting his lordship know he had a pistol in his hand, steps up to the coach, and demands his money and his watch, and assures him upon immediate delivery all shall be well, otherwise his men shall be every one tossed over the rails into the Seine, and his honour pass his time not at all to his satisfaction.

This person of quality our author does not name,

only calls him the Count de ——, but adds that he gave them good words, finding what hands he was in, and delivered his gold watch set with rubies, value six hundred pistoles, and about three hundred pistoles in money, his lordship having had better luck at a gaming-house that night, from whence they watched him, than he had on the Pont Neuf.

It might be added that while this was transacting, and to divert the soldiers who were upon the patrol that night, and had their post in that quarter, another small gang of Bizeau's gentry made a broil of their own in a street hard by, and two of them officiously called off the patrol in great haste as if there was murder committing in the next street. The soldiers, easily deluded, marched furiously to the place, where they found a great crowd gotten together; but the fray was over, and the rogues had mingled themselves so effectually with the mob that they were not to be found; so the soldiers went back to the Pont Neuf just time enough to know that they came too late.

So easy is it for a gang of artful rogues to delude the most vigilant eyes in some contrived cases where the ignorant party has no thought of or guess at the design. Had the commanding officer at that time had presence of mind enough to have marched with a part of his troop, or had he, which was more his proper work, kept his post, and detached a party of his men to see what was doing in the next street, perhaps he had saved the person of quality from his disaster, and discovered also that he was imposed upon; but the cunning rogues, representing the other fray as a matter of importance, that there was a strong party of Cartoucheans, and that the inhabitants were frighted to the last degree, and begging of them for the love of G—— and the Blessed Virgin to bring the guards immediately — this specious story, and well told also, you will easily grant might delude

any man, and the officer not seeing into it was not so much blamable for his credulity, as it was called at that time; for, says our author, the officer was severely reprimanded, and not without the intercession of good friends, and perhaps some money also, escaped losing his commission.

Our author's farther account of their adventures contains a great variety of little attempts upon private persons in the streets, and some foot-pad robberies on the two roads near Paris most particularly frequented by gentlemen and persons of quality, namely, the road to Versailles and that to Meudon: but neither of these being frequented as formerly when the king had his court at the first and the dauphin at the latter, they made no great purchase there, and, in short, their company began to decline apace.

One story our author relates which seems very particular and diverting, and with which I shall conclude this part of their history. They had observed, or had intelligence by their spies, that a certain young gentleman in Paris frequented two particular houses, both remarkable for the several vices they promoted, viz., one a gaming ordinary, the other a bawdy-house. They had, it seems, a certain account of this gentleman, that if he had bad luck at play he always went away mute and melancholy, and walked directly home to his lodgings, where, 't is to be supposed, he spent the hours in giving vent to his passions and rage for the loss of his money; but, on the other hand, if he had been winner, and had good luck at play, he went away airy and brisk, humming a song as he went, and his course was always directly to the bawdy-house, where he had a *fille de joie*, as they call them in Paris, who he took a particular pleasure to converse with.

This house was kept, it seems, by an old lady pro-

curess, in English called a bawd, who carried on a very considerable trade that way, and who was, it may be supposed by what followed, very rich. The gang having observed the gentleman's constant practice, as before, had now no more occasion to set a man to wait above to know whether he had good or bad luck at play, but they set one to watch his posture when he came out, and if they heard that he came singing downstairs, and called a coach to go towards the Faubourg St. Germains, for there the lady dwelt, they then knew very well how it had fared with him at play.

It happened one night that this gentleman had had better luck than ordinary, and had won an extraordinary sum, and as his mirth had increased with his money, he came talking all the way downstairs thus, "Trois cent pistoles, par D——," adding his oath, that is, "Three hundred pistoles, by ——," and this over and over again a great many times, and loud enough to be heard, for, till his man brought a coach, he did the same as he stood at the door.

The coach being called, he drove directly to the Faubourg St. Germains to the old house where he used to be merry. But the gang had their notice so early, that, truly, they were at the house before him; and as they had put on the appearance of gentlemen, three of them were admitted, and had taken up a room next to the place where they knew he usually went, and having gotten two or three ladies with them, they pretended to be very merry and called for music, and soon after went to dancing, as, perhaps, was the custom.

After some little time, and before their music, in came the gentleman, and, according to his usual trade, had his lady, too, brought to him into the room where he used to be, and they began to be very merry too.

The lady sung very fine, and she entertained him with a song, and thus matters went on very well for some time, till both parties had been at supper; and after that, as usual, it was supposed, the gentleman was treating his lady with a different repast. Then the fellows thought it was their time to act; so they bolted into the room just when they were in the height of their enjoyments, and one of them came in singing, "Trois cent pistoles, par D——," just as the gentleman had taught them.

The young spark, angry and provoked to be surprised in that posture, starts up and flies to his sword; but they were too nimble for him there, and closing in with him, told him they were sorry to interrupt him in his sport, but that they only desired to borrow the three hundred pistoles of him, which he had won of an honest gentleman of their acquaintance at the Gros Raisins in La Rue de St. Denis — that is, at the Bunch of Grapes in St. Denis's Street — and that upon his restoring that sum to them they would leave him and his mistress to go on with their game.

The young gentleman was a man of courage, and began to struggle to get room for his sword; but they soon let him know it was to no purpose, and showing their pistols, as also setting a sword's point to his throat, he submitted, and began to capitulate.

All this while the young Venus lay trembling in the very posture they found her; for though it exposed her to the utmost, being quite undressed, yet they had charged her to lie stock-still, or else they had given their words to cut her open most decently.

In a word, the gentleman pulled out two hundred and fifty of the pistoles and delivered them, but owned that being indebted to the old matron, the mistress of the house, who often lent him money for his play, he paid her forty pistoles, and that his

doxy having not had any part of her usual pension, he had given her the other ten pistoles.

They approved his honesty, they said, and asked him if the old lady had given him a receipt for them, which he owned she had. "Very well, sir," said one of them, "then you are discharged." Upon this, obliging the gentleman to make no noise in the house, and placing one of their company to see him perform it, the other going into the next room, called for the old lady, who readily coming up, they told her that she must lend them fifty pistoles.

The old matron laughed at them at first; but finding them insist upon it, she then pleaded poverty, and that she had not so much in the world. But they presently convinced her that they knew she had just before received the forty pistoles of the gentleman, and they did not doubt but she could find ten more upon a little search; if not, they told her they would help her look for them.

Then she smelt what they were, and fell a-scolding at them, and then to crying, and made as if she would cry out for help; but they let her know also that she had no more to do but to be quiet or they would burn her house down and throw her into the fire. So the old bawd submitted, too, and brought them the money, though with a great deal of difficulty, and they made her sensible that it was a great favour that they did not go with her and take all they could find. The story is embellished by our author with some lewd pranks they played also with the gentleman's mistress, who they had caused to lie stark naked before them all the while they were plundering him and the matron of their money; but those things, as too gross for our relation, we purposely omit, our business being of a more serious nature.

This story, it is said, has many other particulars also

with relation to the fiddlers they had sent for, who they tied neck and heels, and stopped their mouths, so that they could make no music, either base or treble, as also the young whores they had called up for their own use, who they gagged, stripped naked, and tied them to the fiddlers in a posture not fit to be named. Several other tricks they played also with the old bawd and her maid, which we shall not enter into here; only, that they stripped them all stark naked, because they should not follow them into the street and raise a cry after them, swearing to them that if they offered to open a window to cry out they would shoot them at the window, or come back and cut their throats. As for the gentleman, they used him civilly, but at parting asked his leave to bind him and his mistress together in the same posture they found them in, which though they might soon untie, yet not soon enough to make any pursuit after them; and in this posture, says our author they left the whole family.

Had all their depredations been made with such an air of good-humour and mirth as this was, there would have been much less to have been said against them. But whatever moved them to the pleasantry of that day's frolic our author does not say; but this is certain, that they carried on their trade of robbery, both before and after, more like savages and butchers than men born among Christians, and, as our author relates things, nothing has ever been acted with so much barbarity and unnatural cruelty in our age.

Few of their robberies in the streets of Paris were committed without murdering the persons before they robbed them; and so many people have of late been murdered in that city, without any discovery of the persons acting in it, that everybody concluded at last, if a man was murdered, the Cartoucheans had done it.

Several of these murders, our author adds, have been confessed at the wheel, and on the rack, when

the criminal has been just going to execution for other crimes; and most of those penitents have been of the gang of these fellows who Bizeau had so long been concerned with.

Note, our author says, Bizeau would never suffer himself to be called the captain or leader of these gangs upon any account, remembering the consequence of that vanity in Cartouche, who, had he not affected the style of command, and taken upon himself to be the leader and captain of the whole body, had not been singled out in the confessions of those who came to the scaffold, nor been singled out by the officers of justice so as to bend their whole application to the apprehending of him.

But Bizeau kept himself concealed by his declining the name and authority of the captain, and yet, perhaps, had as much the direction of things as ever Cartouche himself had.

The turn of times, as I have said, now separated the robbers, and, as is observed, some took to one part of France and some to another; but Bizeau, of whom we are now writing, chose the north part, viz., the province of Picardy, the Isle of France, and the frontiers of the Pays Conquis, this being a part with which, it seems, he had been most acquainted. He had with him his usual number, and which he seldom exceeded; and even these he often divided into two gangs, as we shall see hereafter.

In this new division of the country among them, Bizeau, says our written account, got acquainted with the Le Febvres or Le Fevres, a family or race of rogues who, as it appears by the same author's account, had lived by the scout or plunder for some years, and particularly during the late war; the eldest of them, with his father, Jaques le Febvre, were sutlers, it seems, in the French camp during the several campaigns of the last war in Flanders.

There were, it seems, three brothers of them, John Baptist le Febvre, Lewis le Febvre, and Peter le Febvre. The two former are called vintners, that is to say, in English, victuallers, or ale-house keepers; the latter called himself jeweller, that is also, in English, a cutler or toy-man.

This gang of rogues, says he, were rather equal than inferior to Bizeau in their villainies, and had been of full as long standing in their robberies as he, though of a differing nature; for, as our author says, they were bred up in the army, and yet were not soldiers, but sutlers — that is to say, were, by the nature of their business, thieves and murderers; for those sort of fellows are bred to cruelty and blood, and that in the worst manner of practice in the world, namely, they follow the camp, without any business or employ, as our blackguard boys in England used to do, and whenever any action happens between the armies on either side, or between the detachments or parties, while the soldiers are engaged in the service, and being under command, cannot stir from their ranks, these rogues strip and plunder the dead bodies, and many innocent gentlemen, not only before they are dead, but who, if they did not fall into their merciless hands, would recover of their wounds.

We need not enter farther into a description of this barbarous race of people, or of their bloody employment; 'tis plain, and known to all that used the army, that as soon as any soldier or officer was wounded and had fallen, the sutlers' boys, and women, such as troop always about and after the camp, would run in upon him like so many vultures at their prey, to hale and strip the clothes off from the dead body, and if they were not quite breathless, they were soon made so by the bloody hands of these wretches.

Nor was their practice upon the enemy only, running in among the thickest of the fighting soldiers,

fearless of the shot, which fly as thick as hail, or of the blows, which often light on them; but even the wounded men of their own side were served in the same kind, and that with equal cruelty, if they had the same opportunity; and this made a gentleman who had reason to be well acquainted with those things say that the sutlers' boys and the soldiers' whores destroyed more men than the battle; that the soldiers wounded one another indeed, but these killed them; for that, wherever they came, there was very rarely anybody that was wounded and stripped that ever recovered; nor was any to be found among the wounded that had any breath in them, if the sutlers and the women had been among them.

Of this wretched gang what could be expected but a crew of ruffians, who being early, from their very childhood, drenched in blood and hardened against the cries and entreaties of the miserable, deaf to all the most moving expostulations, and strangers to pity and compassion, were ripened up for all manner of cruelty, and the more bloody any undertaking was likely to be, the more suitable to their nature and inclination?

Such this family of the Le Febvres are represented to be by the author above mentioned, and, indeed, he sets them out as the most wicked, the most terrible, and the vilest crew in the world, abandoned to everything that was base and horrid, robbers of the worst and most barbarous kind, who yet, by the iniquity of the times, were suffered in the army, where, under pretence of exercising their rapine and cruelty only on the enemy, they were connived at and remained unpunished, but yet were such as, in the common expectation of mankind, would certainly ripen up to the wheel or the gallows.

It is to the cruel disposition of those murdering brethren that our author lays the brand of the inhuman actions which Bizeau and one of the Le Febvres

were executed for, and says that he was assured they were the men that voted in the short consultation they held at the time of the robbery to have them all killed, which Bizeau did not at all think of before. It is true, Bizeau himself does not lay it upon them in his confession, nor was there any occasion for it, because he was not interrogated upon that head; but we relate it from the same authority, supposing that person to have it from some who inquired farther into the particulars of the tragedy.

With this society Bizeau, wicked enough before, and bloody too, though now likely to be much worse, kept a close correspondence, and as they gave each other constant intelligence of everything worth communicating for their mutual advantage, so they often joined their forces together, where the booty, in their view, appeared to be too strongly guarded for them; and in such case it was to be observed, says our author, that they very seldom shunned any enterprise for the hazard of it, or balked a home charge, though they found the persons resolute, and in a good posture to resist.

This character, says he, is more particularly due to Bizeau; for as to Le Febvre, he does not give him the title of a brave man at all, but rather of a base, low-spirited murderer, who had impudence enough to be bloody, but not courage enough to fight; that would murder a man in the dark, and when in his hands at mercy, but durst not look a man in the face sword in hand.

In a word, here were two of the worst fellows that God suffered to live come together in the persons of Joseph Bizeau and Peter le Febvre; and sad was it for the poor gentlemen that afterwards fell into their hands, for the like bloodhounds in human shape were scarce to be found in the world.

We have now a long detail of their wicked actions

to describe, we mean such as they committed after they came together on the frontiers of the French-conquered countries, that is to say, in Picardy, Artois, and Hainault, and on the road from Paris to Cambray and Lisle, for these were the parts they plied most in; but we must be content to shorten our account, and leave many of our author's longest stories quite out, as we did before.

One time we find them balked and disappointed; and that is an evidence, as is said above, that Bizeau was not now matched with such stout fellows as he had with him at the Pont Beau Voisin, in Dauphiny; that his company now was as bloody but not as brave, as willing but not as venturous; in short, that they were rather cruel than bold and stout. The case was this: —

They had intelligence, says our author, of a great booty upon the road between Arras and Amiens, being six gentlemen in a postchaise and a coach, with only two servants to attend them; that there were some Dutch merchants among them, who had accepted bills about them, payable at Paris, for a considerable sum, the bills having been negotiated at Lisle, and fully endorsed; that they had, besides, a good round sum of money with them.

Le Febvre, who, it seems, had first had notice of another booty, which was also very considerable, was gone away directly to Lisle, resolving to lie there ready, so that he might be sure not to fail, and had sent an express to Le Bizeau, who was stationed at Pontoise, to advance upon the road to meet him; and Le Bizeau, who had intelligence, by another hand, of this second prize, had at the same time sent Le Febvre information and appointed to meet him at a village called Toutencour, on the road from Arras to Amiens, and near the latter; but they were now so remote that, in a

word, they could not think it possible to meet, so either party prosecuted their several designs upon their own strength.

Le Febvre had only his two brothers and two other men with him, and were but ill horsed, neither being, indeed, accoutred more like what they were, viz., rogues, than what they endeavoured to look like, namely gentlemen. However, he resolved upon the attempt; and as he had learned the exact time when the gentlemen set out, he put himself on the way about two hours before them. The gentlemen he had in his view were only two, the one a commissary's son and the other a merchant, both of Lisle. They travelled together in a postchaise, with two servants on horseback; and the booty which they had about them, and which Le Febvre had notice of, was very considerable — no less, says our author, than two thousand pistoles in gold.

The intelligence which Le Febvre had both of the money and the persons that had it was very exact; but when he came to view them upon the road, he found he was mistaken as to their number; for that being very wary, and knowing the charge they had about them, they had mounted five men more for their security, so that they were no less than seven men, well armed, besides the two gentlemen in the chaise, and they had each of them a fusee in the chaise besides their pistols.

Le Febvre had another misfortune too, says our account, namely, that showing himself upon the way, though without any appearance of offering anything to the company, the postman, or driver of the postchaise, knew him. Now, as whoever knew him knew him to be a rogue, the fellow gave notice to the gentlemen, letting them know both who he was and that his character was that of a notorious villain, though they did not know him as a highway

robber, for he had but very lately taken up that employment, and was not much known in it at that time.

However, the gentlemen put themselves immediately into a posture of defence, and Le Febvre easily saw there was no good to be done with them without more strength; so he rode off, not having given them the least reason to suspect that he ever intended anything against them, except what proceeded from his general character, which of itself was such as made all men that knew him expect something or other that was mischievous.

Le Febvre, says our author, went off with secrecy, making no show of his design, but rode with all expedition towards St. Omer, intending to communicate his circumstances there to another rogue of the gang, who he expected to find there with some attendants who he knew were always ready for mischief, and who he resolved to take with him to strengthen his company, and so to meet the gentlemen again the next day, he having already had an exact account of the route which they were to go, where they would lie every night, and the like.

When he came to St. Omer he found, to his great mortification, that not only the man he came to look for was gone abroad, but that all his party were out with him. He presently concluded it was upon some enterprise of the like nature, and inquiring of a certain female agent which he knew was always trusted with those secrets, she gave him an account of the message which had been sent from Le Bizeau, and of all the particulars, and how a messenger had been likewise sent to himself on the same account.

In this perplexity he knew not what to do, but calling a short council with his two wicked brothers, they resolved to shift their horses and clothes, that when the gentlemen should see them again they might not be known, and to follow the fellow and

his gang to the rendezvous appointed by Bizeau, near Toutencour, as above, and so to get on additional strength there in order to attack the postchaise.

As he shifted horses and rode hard, he was at the rendezvous just time enough to meet his comrade Bizeau, who had the evening before come to the place, and understood that the other gentlemen from Arras were to set out on the next day. This was deemed very lucky by Bizeau, for now they were a strong party or gang of rogues indeed, being seventeen in number, and very well mounted and armed, especially Bizeau and his troop, who came from Pontoise.

But Le Febvre had spoiled all their game, for the two gentlemen of Lisle having been alarmed, as I have said, and being apprehensive that, notwithstanding their additional guard, they might be attacked, and that the rogues having had a sight of them, and finding them too strong, might reasonably be supposed to know something of what charge they had about them, and so might, as was indeed the case, be gone away to pick up a reinforcement of their gang, — I say, the gentlemen having been thus alarmed, thought fit to leave the road they were in, which lay to Cambray, and go away to the right, to the city of Arras.

As they might be supposed when they came to Arras to be pretty free in their discourse of what they had met with, and what had brought them to that city, so the news of robbers being upon the road quickly spread over the whole city, and among the rest reached the ears of the gentlemen who were going to Amiens, of whom, as I said above, Bizeau had gotten intelligence, and for whom he now waited at Toutencour, near Amiens, as above.

These gentlemen soon found out the other two, and as their route was not much out of the way, they

soon agreed to make all one company. As the first gentlemen had taken five men at Lisle to guard them to Cambray, and who ought now to have been dismissed, they resolved, though it was very expensive, to keep them with them till they came to be out of danger, and by the same just reasoning they prevailed with the six gentlemen of Arras to increase the number of their retinue too, which they did by hiring eight stout fellows well armed and mounted to reinforce their guard; so that they now made a body of twenty-five men — seventeen on horseback, and very well mounted and furnished, and eight in the coaches, who were also very well provided with arms.

With all this good company they set out very cheerfully, and besides these they found themselves strengthened in the morning by seven or eight travellers who fell in with them by the way to take the benefit of their convoy, though these were not perhaps so well provided as the rest, that is to say, not so well armed.

Bizeau was upon the scout early in the morning, and understood his business too well to let them pass him without doing what he came about if it had been to be done; but advancing on their approach with only Le Febvre and two more in his company, he was surprised when, instead of eight men, who he expected, he found a troop of between thirty and forty men appeared with two postchaises and one coach and four horses — twenty of the men riding before in very good order, with one like an officer to lead them, and another to bring them up, and five came behind after the coaches as a reserve.

Bizeau and his comrades retreated upon this appearance, and calling a short council with the rest of his men, they consulted their strength and what was to be done.

He and his own particular gang being bold fellows,

and used to charge home, were for venturing and making a bold push of it, alleging the horsemen were not of the king's guards or gendarmes, but that they were mere bourgeois, that is to say, citizens and shopkeepers, and would not stand; that if they gave them one volley at the corner of the lane which he showed to be just before them, and then fell in among them sword in hand, they would be put into confusion immediately, and the like. But Le Febvre was against it, and bade him remember Pont Bon Voisin, where he had been very nigh a defeat by an inferior number. It seems Bizeau had told him the story, for Le Febvre was not among them at that time. Bizeau replied that it was true they were a little shocked there, meeting an extraordinary resistance, but that they recovered themselves quickly, and mastered them at last, and that so it would be here, and offered to be one of the twelve of his men who should charge them at the entrance of the lane or defile that was before them, and the other five to dismount and line the hedge, which would, he said, put them all into a surprise, because they would not know the number that were within the hedges.

This he spoke with so much cheerfulness, and backed it so earnestly with repeating to them what a noble booty there was, that, as our author relates, he had almost won them all over; but Le Febvre hung back still, and at last positively refused; at which Bizeau upbraided him with want of courage, called him coward, and shook his pistol at him. But it was all one, he would not come into it; adding that it was an unequal attempt; that he was not in haste to be broke on the wheel, it would come soon enough of itself; and that they were not troopers but marauders, their business was plunder not blows, and they might with a little good conduct meet with as good purchase with less hazard.

In a word, they could not bring him to make the attempt, and in a few minutes the travellers passed by, the gang lying still in the wood a little distance from the road; and thus Bizeau had the mortification to see a good prize slip out of his hands, which, as this account says, he was not used to do; and had he had his old hardy Cartoucheans with him he would not have submitted to it, notwithstanding the superiority of their numbers.

This little wrangle, says the forementioned author, parted the two leaders for some time, and Bizeau, who despised Le Febvre for a coward, dropped him, not giving him notice when he heard of any prize, and hardly keeping up a correspondence with him.

In this interval, which lasted above half a year, they committed, says he, many notorious robberies in separate gangs; and not a few murders were also heard of, the latter more especially being the work of Le Febvre, who was a mere savage, as I have observed above; but they are too many to relate here.

The first which this account tells us of, he makes Le Febvre commit in a kind of a rage for Bizeau's calling him coward, as if he thought by that method to clear himself of the infamy of cowardice. The story, as our author relates it, is thus: — Going homeward, says he, to St. Omer, he met a chaise with two gentlemen in it, who submissively delivered him their money and their watches, which made together no inconsiderable value, and so they went away from them quietly enough; but on a sudden they returned on the spur; the chaise-driver seeing them, told the gentlemen they were coming, and added, "As they have robbed you already, they certainly come back repenting that they have not killed you to prevent discovery."

The two gentlemen, not at all surprised, prepared to receive them, and had the good luck to receive

their first fire without being hurt; only the poor driver of the chaise was killed, who gave the gentlemen notice of their coming, and they had only a boy, who belonged to the chaise, to drive it; so the gentlemen got out of the chaise, and bade the boy drive away as fast as he could while they shifted for themselves. The boy drove off as they bade him, and the two gentlemen seeing some enclosed grounds near, made a noble retreat towards the hedges, having not discharged their pieces, which they always presented at the rogues when they approached. At length they got into the enclosures, and then immediately fired at them through the hedge, one at a time, so keeping one shot good while the other was loading his piece.

The butcherly rogues did not think fit to venture quite up to the hedge, and one of their horses was shot in the little advance they had made; but that their murdering design might not be quite defeated, they rode after the poor boy, and killed him, who could make no resistance; and two peasants or countrymen, who came accidentally by, they fired at, killed one, and wounded the other, as if they resolved to murder all that came near them; after which they went off, and the two gentlemen escaped to St. Omer, which was about two leagues off, where, no doubt, they gave an account of their deliverance, and got some horsemen to pursue them, but they could not be heard of.

Soon after this there was a house robbed not far off of Ypres, and all the people murdered in a most barbarous manner, and our author places it all to the account of the same gang, though, as he does not enter into the particulars, we shall not undertake to charge them with it positively, as he does. It was, indeed, very likely to be the work of such a crew, the like of whom we scarce read of in history, and,

perhaps, in time a more full discovery of their real guilt may come to light — that is to say, they will go near to make an open confession gradually as they come to the rack, and to be broke alive, which is likely, in time, to be the end of most of them, and has already been of some of the gang, in several parts of France and Germany.

But to return to Bizeau and his gang, they seemed to act in a little higher station than these low-prized rogues just now mentioned; for they kept to the road, except that sometimes they went back to Paris, and did some exploits in the streets there, and, indeed, those were always the most tragical of their actions, for, as is observed before, they generally committed murders there in their street engagements.

But this gang, who sheltered on the frontiers, being, as is observed, the refuse and outcast of the army, the brood of sutlers and blackguard boys, their usage was so bloody that nothing seemed to be attempted by them without it; and, as our author writes, murder was their element, and they delighted in it; nay, even they killed people when no danger of discovery, no difficulty of escape, or any other necessity pressed them to it.

Our judicious author descants very agreeably upon the reason of this bloody disposition, and next to the cruelty mentioned before, which they are, as it were, brought up in when in the camp, he lays it upon the having always a set of women in their company; and these being by nature timorous and faint-hearted, were, says he, in proportion, bloody; and as cowardice is always cruel, so their constant fear of being discovered and apprehended made them prompt the men to murder and cruelty from that brutish maxim, "The dead tell no tales."

At the motion of these furies it was, says our relater, that the very next robbery this Le Febvre com-

mitted they dipped their hands in blood. This was one of the facts which he confessed upon the rack the day immediately before his execution. The story handed down by our author is thus: —

Being at a certain public-house in the parish of Bernaville, in Picardy, where they were entertained in a good, hospitable manner, though not as thieves — for the people had, it seems, no knowledge of what they were before they came into the house — Le Febvre began to observe that the woman of the house, or hostess, as they called her, was a widow; that she had good furniture in the house, and some plate, and that, possibly, she had money also. He communicated his thought to two of his companions, who he appointed to come to the house the night following.

According to appointment, the rest came to the house, and brought two women with them as assistants, and Le Febvre was lodged there that night also, on pretence of buying a horse to proceed on his journey the next day. About midnight, all the family being in bed, Le Febvre rises, and found means to open the gate and let in his horrid gang, first into the outer court or yard, and then into the house.

Being come into the yard, they fastened the outer gate again, and went first into the stables, where they found three horses, which they saddled and bridled, to be ready for their escapes; then going into the house, they first broke into the widow's chamber, who they found in bed and fast asleep, but waking, and in a fright, she began to cry out. They soon brought her to hold her tongue, by threatening to cut her throat, and caused her, for fear of her life, to show them where all her plate and money lay, carrying her from one room to another, and torturing her to make her discover it.

In the meantime, the two women assisting them, two of them, in another room, seized a young man, nephew to the widow, who, being the only man that was in the house, they immediately murdered, the women pressing them to it to prevent noise and all possibility of discovery. There was a maid and two children in the other room; these the women would have had despatched also, but one of the ruffians said, no, it was enough — they would kill the old woman, and he would take care for the wench, that she should not hurt them; and so he did, for he gagged and bound her so that she could not stir; after which they killed the poor widow too, who, to save her life, had first shown them all the treasure she had, and who had so kindly received and harboured them before.

Having thus murdered the widow and her nephew, and rifled the house, they took the horses to carry them off, and made the best of their way towards St. Omer, having first gone four miles a contrary way with the horses and then turned them loose, that so if any pursuit should be made after them, it might be guided another way by the horses being found in another road; and this method answered their end, for the hue-and-cry ran chiefly towards the frontiers of Artois, and upward, the way to Noyon, whereas the gang returned to their haunts near the sea-coast, where we shall hear of them again in a very few days. In the meantime, let us look back to Bizeau, who was upon the wing in another part of the country.

We shall have farther occasion to mention these women in the process of the story, and to give our concurrence to this opinion in the dismal tragedy of our countrymen the English gentlemen who were murdered by this horrid crew. In the meantime, their wickedness was not yet come to its full height.

While this coarser and more bloody gang acted,

as is said, about French Flanders and the lower part of Picardy, Bizeau and his party kept about Pontoise, and between that and Cambray, and sometimes made excursions as far as Rheims and the country of Champagne; and a great deal of mischief they did, even in that well-fortified part of the country, where, notwithstanding the frequent garrison towns which are everywhere interspersed in the country, yet nobody passed in safety, insomuch that the people suspected that the very soldiers who were ordered to guard the roads were the thieves that infested them.

This made the governor of the frontiers the more diligent in suppressing the thieves, and strong patrols were ordered from town to town, commanded by such officers as might be depended upon for their integrity.

The diligence these men used soon made that part of the country too hot for our marauders, and they began to separate again, and about thirty to thirty-five of them, as was said, made over to England, some of which were pleased to apply themselves to a lawful and regular way of living, and, among the rest of their countrymen, to fall to trade, and manufactures, and improvement, things they had never studied before.

But Bizeau, with a small gang, removing a little into his closer quarters, followed the old traffic, and, by sad improvement, advanced himself to some considerable figure, the profits answering beyond his expectation.

He had not, indeed, taken up a resolution to live and die in the way of his new profession, or that he thought himself hardened against all fear, but he met with too much success to pretend to leave it off; and our author gives a full account of abundance of his adventures in Champagne, and even in Lorraine itself, and at the capital city of Nancy; among the rest, take the few that follow for a specimen.

He tells us that being at Metz, in Lorraine, a large city upon the Moselle, there were several Jews employed by the commissaries of the French armies to buy up horses for the king's troops; that two of these Jews coming home out of France, where they had been to deliver a great many horses, Bizeau and his gang got information that they were to come back by such a day.

Nay, so exact was their intelligence that they were told the very way they came, and the several sums of money they had received, and which, it was not doubted, they would have about them; also, that they travelled without any guard, or any other company than three or four servants.

It was true, says our author's account, that the Jew horse coursers had received so much money, and that they were coming back by the road, and at the time when the information given said they would come; but the article of the money was missing, for the two Jews had no sooner passed the river Oise, in their way from Paris to Lorraine, but that, having lodged at an inn in a small village near, they were perceived to have money about them, having been observed by, or intelligence being given to, a little gang of rogues, though less acquainted with the trade than Bizeau and his company; so they had been attacked and robbed just as Bizeau and his crew were coming up to them. Bizeau had just time enough, says our author, to have a sight of the freebooters, and presently knew them, and by certain signals, which those people have to talk with one another by at a distance, let them know who he was; so they tarried for him, he bidding the rest of his gang to keep the two Jews and their servants safe till he returned.

After a little conference with the other gang, he asked them how much they had got of the Jews.

They told him sixty pistoles and some silver, and generously offered him a share. He laughed at them and told them they had done their work by halves, and that he would make twice as much of the Jews, or he would search the inside of their hearts for it; so away he goes back to the Jews, who his gang had carried a little out of the road into a wood, and where they waited his return.

When he came to the Jews he told them he was greatly obliged to them for letting those petty thieves have no more of their money but sixty pistoles, and that they had been so kind to reserve the rest for him; that if they had given all to the other, he should have resented it very much; but that as he knew they had two hundred and twenty pistoles more in their equipage (and with that he told them to a penny how much they had received, and who they received it of), he would use them, he said, as a gift of so much money obliged him to do—that was to say, very friendly.

One of the Jews seemed to understand him to be talking ironically, and that he meant by that discourse that he would cut all their throats, and, with a seeming resolution, told him that it was true they had received so much money, but that he could not blame them for endeavouring to preserve it from the hands they had fallen into; that since he was a man of intelligence, and, as he perceived, had an account of them before they came out of Paris, it was in vain to go about to hide it from him, and he should have the money freely and faithfully delivered; and then he added that as they had now lost all their money, and had nothing left in this world but misery, it would be no disservice to them to do as he seemed to intend with them, and that to despatch them out of life would be the kindest thing they could do for them; at which words the Jew delivered them the

money, which he had concealed about his servants' clothes with much art; but with a kind of desperation, and yet an easiness that seemed above any concern, took it all out, here some, and there some, till he, *bonâ fide*, gave him the whole sum; and then holding out his neck to him with the same unconcernedness, told him that he was ready for the *coup de grâce*, and besought him to despatch him out of this world.

Nothing could be more moving, says my story, than the manner in which the Jew expressed his sense of his condition, and nothing more intrepid than the spirit with which he called upon the highwaymen to despatch him.

But Bizeau, as our story sets it out, was really shocked with the poor man's behaviour, and, as he said afterwards, says the relater, proposed to his comrades to let the man go, and not rob him at all, or to take ten pistoles a man for their present occasion, and so dismiss him, but he could not persuade the gang to it. However, he told the Jew that he was sorry the loss was like to be so fatal to him; that he would not have him lose courage — perhaps he might get it up again. As to them, their trade was for money, and he knew they run great hazards for it; that, however, out of his own share he threw him back twenty pistoles; and as to his life, he assured him they had no intention to hurt him.

The Jew thanked him, but seemed to lay more value upon the gift of the twenty pistoles than upon that of sparing his life, and so they parted.

And now to follow our relater exactly, Bizeau, says he, began to draw near the last scene of his villainies. He had some petty adventures, he says, in Lorraine, but not of any great moment, and he was about to retire into France when he got intelligence of a certain commissary who, as he was told, was

coming from Strasburg in a hired coach with a strong guard, having a great sum of money with him, some on his own account and some on the king's account. In a word, he had a tempting account of the booty, but withal he had also such a description of the equipage of the commissary, and that he came so well guarded, that there seemed to be no room for any attempt upon him.

However, Bizeau could not persuade himself to despair, but getting a choice set or gang of his most experienced, tried fellows, seven in number, besides himself and one particular stout comrade that went always with him, being nine in number, says our relater, they resolved to try what they could make of it, and take what their fortune might present; and accordingly, on the day when they knew the commissary would be upon the road, they all mounted, and placed themselves in a retreat under a little thicket of trees, where they were perfectly concealed and yet had a full view of the road.

They had not fixed their ambuscade very long but they saw some stragglers of the company appear, and those they might have snapped up with ease; but that would not serve their purpose, so they let them all pass, and lay still undiscovered. After some time they saw the commissary with his whole retinue, but were more than surprised when they saw that he had not only eight gentlemen on horseback besides two coaches, but had also a little squadron of dragoons with him, which the governor of Strasburg had granted because of the king's money, which was also with them, and was a considerable sum.

This sight made them disconsolate, and they had no more to do but lie still till the whole body was past, and so disposed themselves to return to their homes, or wander about for anything that might offer.

In pursuit of these thoughts they came into the

road, for, as is said, they had taken their standing at a little distance from the highway, that they might lie secure; but now coming into the road, they rode off the contrary way, going towards Strasburg, that they might not be seen by any of the dragoons.

The first they met with, says our author, were two dragoons following the coach upon the spur, which, it must be supposed, were two of the number appointed to have gone with the rest, but who were left behind by their own negligence. They inquired of Bizeau and his gang if they had seen the party before, which the other told them they had, and that they were but about half a league off; so they parted. Bizeau was at first minded to have attacked them, but he considered that soldiers are not generally overstocked with money, and that if he attempted them he must kill them both or he did nothing; then also, that perhaps the noise might be heard by the rest, who were not yet a great way before, and might come back to their rescue, so he let them pass.

But he had not rode above half a mile farther when he met with a coach and six horses driving also furiously after the rest, as if intending to overtake them, and that either they belonged to them or were travellers willing to have the benefit of their convoy.

They had three horsemen, who made up their retinue; but, happily for them, the coach drove so hard that they could not keep pace, and were at least a league behind. Had they been with the coach, Bizeau would have found it needful to have killed them, that he might rob the coach without their escaping and raising the country.

The gentlemen in the coach, says our relation, seeing Bizeau, but not the rest of his gang, stopped to inquire after their convoy, and this gave Bizeau opportunity to come close up to them; and as they inquired, so he gave them a particular account how far off they

were, not forgetting to suggest that they were a league farther than they really were.

In this interval two of Bizeau's men were come up to the postillion, and stood close to him, while the other seven stood a little way from them, so that the gentlemen in the coach did not see them. A while after, the gentlemen having, as it were, done talking with Bizeau, bade the coachman go on, and the coachman called to the postillion to move; but in that instant the rest of the gang, as if that had been their signal, came galloping up on each side the coach, and bidding the coachman stop, gave the word "Deliver" to the gentlemen in the coach. Bizeau, in the meantime, as if he had known nothing of the matter, rode away, so that they never imagined they had called a highwayman to them, or that he belonged to the party.

When the gentlemen found how it was, they would have got out of the coach, but having three horsemen on one side and four on the other, they could not attempt it; and the first thing the gang demanded was to deliver their arms, which they were very unwilling to do, but seeing no remedy, for the highwaymen presented their carbines at them, and told them if they did not immediately deliver their arms they were all dead men, — we say, seeing there was no remedy, they submitted, to be sure, and gave out their arms.

The gang had no intelligence of this coach, so could not tell what to expect, or where to search more particularly than other; so they obliged the gentlemen to alight out of the coach, and searched them one by one so effectually that they almost stripped them from head to foot.

While this was doing, and after their arms were delivered, three of the gang alighting, searched the coach and the portmanteaus, which were tied behind and before; while Bizeau, with three more who he

called off to him, rode forward towards Strasburg to scour the road and secure the work.

In their going forward, which, indeed, was wisely contrived, though they knew not of it, they met the gentlemen's three servants, and two other men with them, coming after the coach. As it happened, the two other men were peasants, and so had no arms, and they fell into the same snare their masters had done; for one of them rides up to Bizeau, who was a little before the rest, and asked him if they met a coach and six horses, and how far they were off.

Bizeau, says he, answered yes, he did meet a coach, and they were not far off; "But, sir," says he, "I must speak a word with you before you go after them," and with that presents his carbine at him, and bids him stand. The fellow seemed unsurprised, and having a fusee slung at his back, began to lay his hand on it, which Bizeau seeing, fired at him immediately, and fetched him off his horse, though, as it proved afterwards, the fellow was not killed, but sore wounded and worse frighted. The other two seeing what hands they were in, and that there was no room to fly or pretence to fight with four resolute fellows well armed, submitted; and as for the two peasants, they had neither weapons nor money, so they stood at a small distance and looked on the highwaymen, who commanded them on pain of death not to stir a foot.

The other had not much to lose, being servants. They confessed they belonged to the coach, and when they had been told what had been their masters' fate, they exclaimed at their own negligence at being absent; but Bizeau satisfied them that it was their felicity, and perhaps their masters' too, that they were so absent, for that if they had been there they had infallibly been all killed, and perhaps their masters also.

But to go back to the coach. The gang having, as

is said, effectually plundered them, they called a council what they should do with them. Some of them, it seems, moved to kill the postillion, others the coachman and postillion, and one to kill them all; but it was at length carried for more merciful measures, namely, to cut all the harness and turn the horses loose, then overthrow the coach, and leave them all to take what measures they thought fit.

But the gentlemen, by their importunities, prevailed with them to leave the coach and harness all entire, promising upon their words and honour to go all into the coach, and sit stock-still four hours, and then drive directly back to Strasburg, and that if any person came by on the road they would not make any complaint or discover what had happened to them.

Bizeau was by this time come back to them, and all things being done and finished with the utmost despatch, the gang, not much afraid of pursuit, and taking a contrary road, left the gentlemen to perform quarantine pursuant to their parole, which they did very punctually according to promise, Bizeau and his gang going away towards Landau and the Rhine, where they would soon be beyond the reach of pursuit, being then in the dominions of the emperor.

This is the last considerable adventure which, he says, Bizeau was concerned in, and he seems something uncertain whether he was personally in this adventure or no, or that his immediate comrade mentioned above, who it seems was his nephew, was rather principal in it, and that Joseph Bizeau might be engaged in some of the other attempts which take up that part of his relation; so we leave that part as we find it, nor is it very material which of them it was.

The booty the gang made of this re-encounter, for such it seemed to be in its circumstances, they having not the least intelligence about it, — we say, the booty was not inconsiderable, the gentlemen, as may

be supposed from the equipage they travelled in, being well furnished, and perhaps the better for being so secure, as they thought themselves, under the convoy of a party of the king's troops; but our author does not enter into the particulars of what they took here, except that he hints their changing a horse with one of the servants, who had a very good one.

As the gang, you see, was great, so you are not to suppose that these were all the adventures that they went about in the space of two years, from the time they came first to Paris to that adventure near Strasburg; nor, as I said above, do we give a full account of those which our relater above mentioned is stored with, but, as is noted before, have singled out some of the most diverting and the most considerable for the reader's observation, even as far back as the late peace, when the reduction of the troops in France left a considerable number of gentlemen out of employment, and in want of means to subsist, we say, ever since the late war.

During these adventures of Bizeau and his gang, we are not to suppose Le Febvre and his blackguard gang were idle.

Le Febvre himself had, for some time before, joined himself on several occasions with another gang of highway robbers at Paris, and these kept their station about Châlons, and on the frontiers of Burgundy, where they committed several notorious murders and robberies; for wherever he acted, it seems he was generally drenched in blood.

It was in conjunction with this gang that he had once robbed the coach called Le Diligence, about two years before, namely, in April, one thousand seven hundred aud twenty-one, and also in robbing and murdering one D'Angers, a courier on the road from Paris to Chartres, which murder he confessed also

upon the torture. It seems the courier was going for Spain, and, as they supposed, had some rich presents from the Duke of Orleans to the King of Spain, on a particular account; so that, without any capitulation, they attacked and murdered him, and rifled him afterwards, when, to their great surprise, they found nothing about him but about twenty-four pistoles to defray his expenses on his journey.

After this, says the same account, they attacked three citizens of Orleans, travelling from that city towards Auxerre, who they robbed of about six hundred livres, and wounding one of them, threw him into the Canal de Briaire, intending to drown him; but as they rode off upon the approach of some peasants, the citizen made his escape.

Then they robbed the coach mentioned above a second time. It was, it seems, upon some intelligence they had of a great booty in the coach that they attacked it this second time, and it was reported that they found no less than seventy thousand livres in money in it, which, however, says our author, wants confirmation. At this last time of robbing the Lyons stage-coach, they fired at three horsemen who were with them, and rode for it. It seems one of them was shot in the arm; but they got away, being well mounted, and with them, says he, it was reported they missed a larger booty, two of the gentlemen having a considerable sum of money with them.

At the robbing this coach they committed no murder; but, says our author, it was not for want of endeavour, but because the gentlemen escaped by the goodness of their horses, for it was otherwise their constant practice that whenever they attempted to rob a coach they always murdered the attendants, though they never killed those who were in the coach. It seems they murdered the other, not only that they might not escape and raise the country,

but also that they might give them no disturbance during their farther operations with the coach.

The escape of those three persons, it seems, made them the more in haste in rifling the coach, where, notwithstanding the seventy thousand livres which it was said they found, yet they left some things of value, for want of time to make a more particular search.

This also is one of the robberies which Le Febvre confessed upon the rack, and which the officers who tortured them were particularly directed to question them about.

By these it will sufficiently appear that not only from the time when the famous Cartouche was in his meridian of wickedness, but for some time before, there has been a formidable gang of robbers in France, who, as well on the road in the Forest of Orleans, the frontiers of Flanders, and other places in the country, as also in the streets of the city of Paris, have carried on the thieving trade and other villainies, complicated with divers horrid murders and insolences, and this notwithstanding the utmost vigilance in the proper officers to apprehend them, and the utmost severity in the Government to punish them when apprehended; for not one of them that has been apprehended has been spared, except only such as have been made use of to detect and convict their fellows.

Of this horrid race of men, and thus introduced, these two, whose execution has been so justly severe, and who we are now speaking of, are produced; and if the author from whom these facts are thus published, has made a true collection, they have had a great length of time to practise their villainies in, and had a mass of blood to account for to the justice of men, besides what a load of crimes may have been committed by them which the world, as yet, knows nothing of.

It is true the name of Cartouche has borne the burden of most of these things — I mean as to the scandal of them. Fame has sported with his character, and has placed every action that has been superlatively and flagrantly wicked to his account. But if we come to examine things more nicely, we find the thing quite otherwise, and, for aught that we see, Joseph Bizeau was a bolder and more enterprising villain than he, and Le Febvre a more merciless, bloody, and butcherly rogue than either of them; and if the detail of all their lives was more fully described, I doubt not but it would appear so in every particular — at least the close of their actions would certainly confirm it.

As is said above, Bizeau was now come to the last scene of his life. While he had, as it were, taken up the north-east parts of France for his station, and that he plied about Lorraine and the country between the Rhine and Moselle, he received a message from some of his comrades inviting him, or rather soliciting him, to come into Picardy, upon some intelligence of an extraordinary booty to be made, and a sort of a certainty of making it well worth his while.

What this particular adventure was, or upon what prospect it was proposed, our relater does not particularly give an account, or whether it was effected and brought to pass, or that they met with a disappointment and made no advantage as they expected; but as it seems to be named chiefly to bring Bizeau into Flanders and Picardy, so it answers the end that way, for now we read of him always on this side of the country, that is to say, between Compiègne on one side, Cambray on the second, and Dunkirk on the third.

Fame tells us that he did several remarkable exploits on the side of Artois, between Calais and St.

Omer, and between Pontoise and Cambray, as also between Dunkirk and Ypres, Dunkirk and Boulogne, and the like, and this was confirmed, in that he was not much heard of on any other side of the country.

But to come to facts, one of the most notorious robberies he was immediately concerned in after his coming to Flanders was that of the post between Lisle and Paris, where, it was said, they got a great booty, consisting of gold in specie, with negotiated bills of exchange to a very great sum. This was said to be an exceeding loss to the merchants of Lisle, besides that it greatly injured the credit of the post, by which bills of exchange accepted were frequently carried with the utmost security, and now lay in the narrow compass of a post-letter.

This would, no question, have been carried on had not the governor taken care to prevent it, by conveying the post from Lisle by a party of soldiers from one fortified place to another, so that the mails were admitted again to be thoroughly safe.

About September last, having a mind to get a large society of his men together, Le Bizeau comes to Calais, and on an extraordinary occasion. Our author does not assign the particular cause which brought him to Calais, but it seems that he had intelligence of some very great booty, and that he was well assured of it. It was here that he solicited his old servants to come to him, as to one that had formerly always assured them of good purchase when they did. Accordingly, he had an unusual assembly about him when at Calais, and sometimes they went one way and sometimes another; but, 't is said, a new view offered itself, which made him remove out of Calais for some time and take up his station at Furnes or St. Winoxberg, where they expected the carrying some moidores of Portugal gold from Dun-

kirk to Lisle; and this, had it happened, had required a strong gang of fellows, for that the merchants generally take care to have a good guard go along with their gold, though it had always had the good fortune to go safe and uninterrupted.

While they remained here lurking for the return of a spy they had sent to Dunkirk, and by whom they were to be furnished with intelligence, behold a sudden summons calls them out another way, and that, as was supposed, to an easy booty.

I should have taken notice here that while they lay about Furnes and St. Winoxberg, as above, they had certain houses of reception in particular by-places — that is to say, houses of entertainment — which were kept, perhaps, by some of their own gang, or by such as belonged to them; and particularly in the way between Dunkirk and Ypres, they had a house kept by a widow, whose husband, when she had one, was one of the wicked fraternity, and who willingly harboured the whole gang.

This widow received not only the gang, but even their wives, or whores, or whatever they were called, and these were they, our author says, from whom, on several occasions, they were whetted on to blood.

It happened, says our author, a little before the fatal exploit of all, that they robbed a company of shopkeepers and tradesmen of Lisle, who not only parted unwillingly with what they had about them, though not much neither, but who gave some fatal descriptions of the robbers, and which they were so well known by, that they were very much perplexed with it, so that, in short, they were very often obliged to change their habits, disguise their faces, shift their horses, and the like.

The women upbraided them, says our author, that had they made clear work, as they called it, with them, — that is to say, cut all their throats — they

had been safe and out of all danger; and so often did repeat this bloody doctrine to them, and so home did they press them, that, as 'tis said, they promised their most Christian wives that they would make surer work of it next time.

In this juncture of time comes the unhappy intelligence to them of a set of English gentlemen just come on shore at Calais, who had about three hundred guineas in gold about them, and that they were just preparing to go forward towards Paris.

The account was so particular, and the purchase so good, that they embarked for the attempt with the utmost cheerfulness, and the night between the 20th and the 21st of September 1723 they all set out. They posted themselves in a little village near St. Inglevret, not far from Boulogne, where they refreshed themselves, and in the morning took the road for Calais.

About four o'clock, according to the intelligence they had received, they met the gentlemen coming forward in two postchaises, whom they immediately stopped and robbed, for they made no resistance.

Having thus had the booty they expected, they called a council among themselves, what to do with the gentlemen they had robbed, when, calling to mind the hellish reproaches of the bloody wretches their females, they resolved to murder all the gentlemen, with their attendants, and immediately fell upon them, and butchered them, as has been made public to the world. The brief account as testified by the only surviving person, being the servant Spindelow, is as follows:

"On Tuesday, September 20, about three in the afternoon, we set out from Calais for Boulogne, in our way to Paris — my master, Seabright (the best of masters), and Mr. Davies being in one chaise, and Mr. Mompesson and myself in another, and his own ser-

vant on horseback. About three-quarters of a mile beyond the second post, being near seven miles from Calais, we were set upon by six highwaymen, who, having stopped the postillions, came up to the chaises and demanded our money, and the same was readily surrendered to them, for we had no firearms with us to make resistance, and even the gentlemen's swords were taken from them. Then taking us out of the chaises, we were all commanded to lie down upon our faces, as were the postillions too, which was presently obeyed, upon which one of the rogues came and rifled our pockets, and narrowly searched the waists and linings of our breeches. This being done, I was ordered to get up and open the portmanteaus; and as I was going to do it I saw one of them pull the dead body of Mr. Lock out of the chaise in which he had been killed on his return from Paris at some small distance from us. This was a sad presage of what was like to follow. Mr. Lock's servant, who was a Swiss, was spared, but made to lie on his face at the place where they met him. In rifling Mr. Seabright's portmanteau they found some things wrapped up which they suspected I endeavoured to conceal, which made them cut me with a sword very dangerously in the head. When they had done with my master's portmanteau, they ordered Mr. Mompesson to open his, and he desired Mr. Seabright to tell them in French that his servant was gone before, and had got the key with him. This servant they had met with not far off, and had shot him in the back; but he, not being dead, was ordered to lie down on his face, and now they fetched him to open his master's portmanteau.

"When they had finished their search of the portmanteaus and cloak-bags, shaking every piece of linen for fear of missing any money, then the barbarous ruffians gave the word to kill, whereupon one

stabbed me in five places in the body, and left me for dead, and with the same sword he struck at Mr. Davies several times and cleft his skull. Who was butchered next, or what immediately followed, I cannot tell, being stunned by one of the villains who came up to me, and stamped three times upon my head as I was lying upon my face. As soon as I came a little to myself I perceived by his groans that they were murdering Mr. Mompesson, whose throat they cut, and otherwise wounded him; but he survived his wounds for some time.

"About that time a peasant that was accidentally passing by was brought in amongst us, and made to lie with his face to the ground, who, perceiving what sort of work they were upon, got up and attempted to run away; but they rode after him, and shot him dead. After this they visited me once more, and having turned me about to see if I had any life remaining, but observing none, they left me there weltering in my blood. The bloody scene being then ended, they packed up their booty, carrying away two cloak-bags filled with the best of the things; and having a horse that was small and poor, they shot him themselves, and took away a better out of one of the chaises in his room.

"About a quarter of an hour after they were gone, we heard the peasants talking over the dead bodies, and Mr. Mompesson and myself, lifting up our heads as well as we could, perceived they were carrying away what things were left. We desired them to help us into the chaise, but they refused to do it; so, with much difficulty, Mr. Mompesson got himself in, and I crawled up to it and got my body in, while my legs hung out, and in that posture we were carried to a little house three-quarters of a mile from the place, and one of the peasants was so kind as to lead the chaise. The people of the house

brought some straw, and laid us upon it, and there we lay in great misery that night. Mr. Mompesson took notice in the night that he thought the rogues were but indifferently paid for the drudgery of butchering so many (five persons being then murdered, and himself, who died soon after, made the sixth). 'For,' saith he, 'besides watches, rings, linen, &c., they had but one hundred and twenty guineas amongst us all, and the payment of the bills will be stopped at Paris.'

"Mr. Seabright had changed at Calais about twenty-five guineas into silver (not three hundred, as was given out), to bear our expenses upon the road. And whereas it was reported that he said to the ruffians he knew one of them, which expression is supposed by some to have occasioned the sad catastrophe, which it might have done had it been true; but the said report is absolutely false and groundless, and highly injurious to the memory of that worthy though unfortunate gentleman. The murder was doubtless preconcerted among them, and resolved upon; and they tell us in that country that some time before a certain company had drank at a house upon the road an uncommon quantity of brandy, who are supposed to be this wicked gang, in order to work themselves up to a sufficient rage for the committing of so much barbarity.

"Next morning we were carried from our little cottage upon the road back to Calais, where several of the most able surgeons of the place were sent for to take care of us and dress our wounds. They sewed up Mr. Mompesson's throat, and finding he had a fever, bled him, but he died a few hours after.

"Another report was spread here, and transmitted to France, which, in justice to truth and to the injured person, I think myself obliged to contradict, viz., that the woman's son at the Silver Lion Inn at

Calais was taken up on suspicion of having a hand in that horrid action, upon which account they have since been great sufferers at that house; but the said report is as false as anything can be true. On the contrary, those people bear the best of characters.

"I have here given you the substance of the report I made more at large to the president at Calais, which, he told me, he would have printed and sent to England, when I waited on him some days before I left that place to thank him for the great care he had taken in this unhappy affair, and at the same time described to him the features of two of the rogues who had something remarkable in their faces. What account the postillions gave of the matter I know not, but 't is said to be little, and next to none.

"A person was some time since taken up at Lisle, and said to be the old man that was among them, for such there was in the gang; but upon his trial he did not appear to be the same. However, he was broke on the wheel for a robbery committed by him about four years ago.

"We hear of another person taken up near Boulogne, who is in jail there on account of some words that he spoke, as 't is said, in a drunken frolic, so that 't is much doubted that he was a person concerned, though he hath got a stone doublet by the bargain; but it is hoped that the perpetrators of so much wickedness will be apprehended, and in that case I expect to be sent for to France, and if so, you shall hear farther from your humble servant,

"R. SPINDELOW."

This inhuman butchery soon spread its fame over the whole country, and as it filled the ears of all that heard it with horror, so the search after the murderers was so sudden, so strict, and so general,

that it forced them all to leave even the closest retreats they had, and to fly the country.

Bizeau in particular took to his old retreat, says our author, and went up into Lorraine, where he had been before, and where he was not to seek of his lurking holes and receivers in which he had formerly been harboured.

Yet even here he found the fame of the murder committed on the English gentlemen had reached the ears of the people; the whole society of mankind seemed to be alarmed, and the general search after all suspected, loose, or vagrant persons was very strict, and several such were taken up, among which, and that increased their fears, were two who were really in the secret of the murder, though not in the fact, and by whose being examined some light was gained into the persons who were really guilty.

This, no doubt, made Bizeau and Le Febvre often shift their dens, and fly from one place to another, as being in continual uneasiness and apprehensions of being discovered. They would have fled farther off, but they perceived, let them go where they would, it would be the same; for that, as before, the court of France had written in the most pressing terms to all the neighbouring princes to intercept strangers, especially French, and cause them to be most strictly examined.

The consternation they were in on this occasion must be very great, and they quitted their old quarters in Lorraine, and, says he, came down into the Low Countries, and particularly took up their stand in Walloon Flanders, at or about Valenciennes.

Here they changed their names, and Bizeau in particular called himself Gratien Devanelle, a Walloon, and gave himself out to be a working silversmith and jeweller, and carried about him the proper tools of

that trade, though he understood little or nothing of it.

Their disguise served them but too well, and they were so effectually concealed by it that they got harbour in several houses, where they were not at all suspected, about Condé. Hence they removed to Lisle, where pretending the same trade, and being recommended by people of credit from their former quarters, where, it seems they had behaved civilly, they were easily received at Lisle also; nor was it hard to be entertained at a second place, when they had a fair testimonial or certification from the first.

Here they got separate lodgings, and seemed not to correspond or be acquainted with one another, but having each of them a wife with him, put on the face of artificers in appearance, working diligently at their trades; keeping, however, a strict secret intelligence one with another all the while for the carrying on their wicked private business, which they never quitted.

In this place they seemed now to have gotten a kind of settlement, and to have escaped all the dangers of a discovery, and perhaps, had they been able to have restrained themselves from the old trade of thieving, they might have gone on undiscovered to this day; but two things broke in upon their repose—(1) they understood here that the two fellows who were taken up at Nancy, in Lorraine, had pretended, on examination, to know something of the robbers who murdered the English gentlemen, and to give some description of them—their persons, their places of retreat, and employment—though it was too imperfect an account to guide the officers of justice to an inquiry.

This, 't is probable, they had intelligence of from some of their gang who yet lay undiscovered in that country, to which was added that several places where

they had been concealed had been searched, and the people taken up on suspicion, and that it was likely they would be put to the torture to make them confess who it was they had so entertained, and what other haunts they had, where they might be inquired after; but, as it happened, they had not communicated that part to any of those people, so they could give no account of them if they were tortured — no, not to save their lives.

Though these strict inquiries made them anxious, yet it did not at all take them off from the practice of their usual villainies; and they made, says our author, many successful sallies in private, some one way and some another, sometimes together and sometimes apart, by which they supported their expense, and yet managed with such dexterity that they always escaped pursuit, and for some time so much as being suspected.

Nor, perhaps, had these two capital rogues been suspected at all if, on the strict searches that were made upon the news of the murder of the English gentlemen, several lesser rogues had not fallen into the hands of justice, who, though engaged only in a kind of inferior villainies, and so not concerned with these in the bloody and cruel attempts they were generally employed in, yet knew of them, and upon their examination gave such accounts of them as that by these means the officers of the *lieutenant-général de police* came to know that there was such a gang, and perhaps to know some of their haunts, and consequently a stricter search was made after them than had ever been done before; nor, when these accounts were given of them, was it any longer doubted but that these were the men that had committed the barbarous massacre of the English gentlemen between Calais and Boulogne.

After the Government had thus gotten a scent of

them, they were put more to their shifts to conceal themselves, and they quitted their old habitations and retreats; and though it was difficult, yet they did so effectually manage that they not only escaped, but had the boldness still to continue their horrid trade, as well of murder as of robbery.

In consequence of this desperate boldness, they attacked the Lisle stage-coach about two months after the robbery of the English gentlemen. In this adventure they were both concerned, as they had been in the other.

They, it seems, had received some private intelligence of a great sum of money which was to be carried in the coach that time from Lisle to Paris, and that there would be six or eight men on horseback, well armed, to guard it, notwithstanding which they resolved to attack them and carry off the money, or die in the attempt. To this purpose they were no less than ten in number when they set out; but upon better intelligence, and that there were no more than two servants attending the coach, they separated, and only five went forward on the design of robbing the coach, and the other five went towards Roanne on some other scent, believing that, seeing the number of horsemen were reduced to only two instead of eight, so the treasure was also left behind, perhaps for that week only. They waited for the coach on the road between Péronne, on the river Somme, and the little town of Bapaume, where taking a convenient post on the edge of the wood, they stopped the postillion, firing a pistol at him, which missing the fellow, hurt one of the horses only. The two horsemen behaved very well, but were both murdered, and the passengers put into the utmost terror and consternation, expecting they should be all murdered also. The names of the two men on horseback were John Pouillard and Laurence Hennelet, servants.

Having thus cleared the field, as it might be said, of their opposers, they robbed the coach, in which, our author says, they used the passengers very rudely and barbarously, and two ladies especially, who they wounded in getting rings from their fingers, besides other indecencies and cruelties not to be named, and were but with the most humble and passionate entreaties prevailed with to save their lives; indeed, considering how they had been flushed with blood for some time past, it was a wonder they had not killed them all.

Our author does not give any account of what booty they took on this occasion, only adds that this was the last of their villainies — that now the days of their account began to come on; for that within a few days after this robbery, the coachman and passengers having given the best description of them that they were able to do of men in masks, for so, it seems, they were at that time, though not when they attacked the English gentlemen, — we say, the description being given as well as it could be in such circumstances, the two principals, namely, Bizeau, then called Devanelle, and Peter le Febvre, were taken up at Lisle upon suspicion; the other Bizeau, and three more, who were in the fact, escaped for that time.

Being thus in the hands of justice, rather on suspicion of robbery than on any positive evidence of the fact, the more general inquiry was directed to the murder of the English gentlemen. They denied it stiffly, but yet all their answers seemed to be studied and uncertain, faltering and shuffling; sometimes they were in Switzerland at that time, another time they were at Paris, another time sick, and thus their very denial rather increased than abated the suspicions of their guilt.

Upon all these inquiries, the *lieutenant-général de*

police thought fit to have them brought to Paris, where they went more seriously to work with them, and had them examined upon all the particulars apart; and as they were kept asunder, and not permitted to see the confession that either had separately made, they began to suspect one another, each one doubting that the other should impeach him of the fact, to obtain his own pardon.

But neither did this produce a full confession, though it gave sufficient light to convince the *juges criminels* that they were the men, while they had not yet such positive proof of it as was sufficient to convict and attaint them.

Upon this occasion it was that they sent over to England to desire that Richard Spindelow, the servant to Mr. Seabright, might be sent over to give evidence in the case as to the persons of the men and the particulars of the murder, which, our author says, he accordingly did.

This Spindelow was, as they supposed, murdered with the rest; nay, they turned and rolled him about after a great interval of his wounds, and finding no breath in him, as they believed, they left him as a dead corpse, yet he afterwards recovered.

His evidence, together with their confused, faltering answers, were, it's said, found sufficient by the *juges criminels* to declare these two guilty, both of the murder and robbery; the trials in France being not by juries, as in England, but by the judgment of the court, or bench of judges, — and these, we say, with one voice pronounced them guilty, as well of the robbery and murder of the English gentlemen as also of the robbery of the Lisle coach, and the murder of the two servants that attended it.

Bizeau behaved till now with an obdurate kind of bravery, and Le Febvre with stupidity of mind, both insensible of their condition; nor could the fathers

who were admitted to attend them prevail with them to make any serious reflections, or so much as to suppose they were in any circumstance which required such reflections.

But when they found they were condemned, and that they saw death at the door, that it was unavoidable, nor any delay of the execution to be obtained, they began both of them, but especially Bizeau, to relent, and look with the countenance of guilty criminals. The sentence pronounced, as our author gives it us from the forms of their justice, is thus: —

Extract from the Register of the Court of Justice held for the Châtelet of Paris.

"An accusation being pursued at the instance of the king's procurator-general against Joseph Bizeau, who had taken upon himself the name of Gratien Devanelle, jeweller, of the city of Liège, and Peter le Febvre, also jeweller; Elizabeth Gottequin, wife of the said Le Febvre; Mary Merance, wife of Francis Nicholas Josette, a seller of India goods; John Baptist Bizeau, toyman; Adrian Beausse, vintner; Catharine Moffet, wife of the said Adrian Beausse, and Mary Beausse, their daughter; Anne Turry, wife of Francis Puget, *alias* Farcinet; Mary Catherine François, *alias* Catherine Cantas; and Mary Frances Beausse, widow of Francis Caron, vintner at Beauval, — defendants and accused.

"The Court declared that the aforesaid Joseph Bizeau, *alias* Gratien Devanelle, and Peter le Febvre were duly attainted and convicted of the robberies and assassinations committed upon the persons of the English gentlemen and their servants, named Lock, Seabright, Mompesson, Davies, Fitzgerald, and Richard Spindelow, and also one named Allet, and

Lewis Poilet, upon the high-road to Boulogne, between Brighen and St. Inglevret, the 21st of September last; and also of the robbery of the stage-coach belonging to Lisle, with armed force, upon the high-road near the village of Mazincourt, two leagues and a half from Péronne, the 19th of November last; and of the assassination committed at the same time upon the persons of John Pouillard and Lawrence Hennelet, who accompanied the said coach. In atonement, therefore, for the crimes mentioned as aforesaid, and in regard to justice, the said Joseph Bizeau, *alias* Gratien Devanelle, and Peter le Febvre are condemned to have their arms, legs, thighs, &c., broken upon a scaffold which shall be erected for that purpose at the common place of execution in the city of Paris; after which said execution their bodies shall be put upon wheels, with their faces towards the sky, there to remain for so much time and as long as it shall please God to continue them alive. The goods acquired by them are confiscated to the king or to whom they shall be found to appertain; save one thousand livres, which shall be taken out of what belongs to each of them to cause prayers to be offered up to implore God for the repose of the souls of the several persons afore mentioned whom they have assassinated; and the same sum of one thousand livres out of each of their effects as fines to the king, in case the profit arising by confiscation do not accrue to his Majesty. And farther, that before execution the said Joseph Bizeau, *alias* Gratien Devanelle, and Peter le Febvre shall be put to the question (torture), ordinary and extraordinary, to the end that the truth of the facts resulting from their trial as well as the names of their accomplices may be known from their own mouths. The dead bodies, viz., that of Joseph Bizeau, *alias* Gratien Devanelle, to be carried and remain exposed on a

wheel upon the high-road to Calais, and that of Peter le Febvre to be exposed after the same manner upon the high-road to Péronne.

"The Court was farther pleased to order that sentence against John Baptist Bizeau, Elizabeth Gotte quin, Mary Merance, Adrian Beausse, Catherine Moffet, Mary Beausse, Anne Turry, Mary Cath. François, *alias* Cath. Cantas, and Mary Frances Beausse, should be suspended till after the execution of the present sentence; and the Court farther directed that the warrant issued out for the taking John Baptist le Febvre, Lamant, Dupuis, Josette, Lewis le Febvre, and three women, who passed for the wives of the said Lamant, John Baptist le Febvre, and Lewis le Febvre, should be put in execution, according to the indications the Court hath received; and that an accusation be drawn up against them, that they may be proceeded against, according to the utmost rigour of the law. Given Thursday the 13th of July, N.S., 1724.

"(Signed) CAILLET, Greffier of the Court.

"The sentence of the Court was accordingly executed, the 14th of July, N.S., upon the aforesaid Joseph Bizeau, *alias* Gratien Devanelle, and Peter le Febvre, with the utmost severity, they being left to expire in their torment, without obtaining the ordinary despatch, called the *coup de grâce*. All this is done as well in justice to the English nation, for the inhuman murder of the gentlemen above mentioned, as for the other assassinations and crimes they were found guilty of, as appears from the foregoing proceedings."

When they had it read to them, and that they were appointed to be tortured also before execution, they made bitter lamentations and expostulations,

kneeling to the judges for mercy, but were told they had nothing to do but to kneel to God and the Blessed Virgin, for that no mercy could be expected here, where their crimes had been so atrocious and so horrid that no Christian's ears could hear them without horror and astonishment.

The same day in which they received sentence, they were put to the question, that is to say, were tortured upon the rack, where they fully confessed both the robberies and murders above mentioned, namely, that of the English gentlemen, with the peasant who was passing by, and that of the Lisle coach, with the murder of the two horsemen attending it; so that, by their own confession, they were justly put to death.

They were interrogated also concerning the other robberies and murders which they had been guilty of, and they confessed so many, says our author, that it was horrible to hear that only two execrable wretches should have been so let loose upon mankind, to commit so many murders and villainies.

They passed the time the night before their execution in the prison for the dead, as called there (or condemned hold, as in England), with strange, uncouth cries and groanings, occasioned, says he, partly by the pains of their tortured joints, but much more by the torture of their souls, the fathers appointed to attend them in vain administering to them their pious exhortations to repentance, and comforting them as well as possible in so dismal a condition.

On the morrow, being the 14th, Bizeau was led out to the Grève to execution, all the way calling on the people to pray for him, and showing great marks of penitence, which continued to the last. He was broke alive, in the extremest sense, not being allowed the *coup de grâce*, and lived many hours on the wheel, being not expired many hours before Le Febvre was

brought to the same place; nay, our author hints that he understood by some that he was not quite dead when Le Febvre came to execution, which must be at least twenty-four hours.

It was thought fit to allow the executioner leave to give the *coup de grâce* to the latter, as is usual, so that he died with less torment than the other.

Thus perished these two execrable wretches; and as there are five more who are in the prison of the Conciergerie, and eight more who are not yet taken, we expect more executions on the same occasion.

FINIS.

THE HISTORY OF
THE REMARKABLE LIFE OF
JOHN SHEPPARD

TO THE CITIZENS

OF

LONDON AND WESTMINSTER

GENTLEMEN, — Experience has confirmed you in that everlasting maxim, that there is no other way to protect the innocent but by punishing the guilty.

Crimes ever were, and ever must be, unavoidably frequent in such populous cities as yours are, being the necessary consequences either of the wants or the depravity of the lowest part of the human species.

At this time the most flagrant offences, as burning of dwellings, burglaries, and highway robberies, abound; and frauds, common felonies, and forgeries are practised without number; thus not only your properties, but even your very lives, are every way struck at.

The legislative power has not been wanting in providing necessary and wholesome laws against the evils, the executive part whereof (according to your great privileges) is lodged in your own hands. And the administration hath at all times applied proper remedies and regulations to the defects which have happened in the magistracy more immediately under their jurisdiction.

Through the just and salutary severities of the magistrates, public excessive gaming has been in a manner suppressed, and some late examples of

divine vengeance have overtaken certain of the most notorious lewd prostitutes of the town, which, together with the laudable endeavours of the great and worthy societies, has given no small check to that enormous and spreading vice.

But here 's a criminal bids defiance to your laws and justice, who declared and has manifested that the bars are not made that can either keep him out or keep him in, and accordingly hath a second time fled from the very bosom of death.

His history will astonish; and is not composed of fiction, fable, or stories placed at York, Rome, or Jamaica, but facts done at your doors, facts unheard of, altogether new, incredible, and yet uncontestable.

He is gone once more upon his wicked range in the world. Restless vengeance is pursuing; and, gentlemen, 't is to be hoped that she will be assisted by your endeavours to bring to justice this notorious offender.

THE LIFE OF
JOHN SHEPPARD, &c.

THIS John Sheppard, a youth both in age and person, though an old man in sin, was born in the parish of Stepney, near London, in the year 1702, a son, grandson, and great-grandson of a carpenter. His father died when he was so very young that he could not recollect that ever he saw him. Thus the burden of his maintenance, together with his brother's and sister's, lay upon the shoulders of the widow mother, who soon procured an admittance of her son John into the workhouse in Bishopsgate Street, where he continued for the space of a year and a half, and in that time received an education sufficient to qualify him for the trade his mother designed him, viz., a carpenter. Accordingly, she was recommended to Mr. Wood, in Wych Street, near Drury Lane, as a master capable of entertaining and instructing her son. They agreed, and bound he was for the space of seven years. The lad proved an early proficient, had a ready and ingenious hand, and soon became master of his business, and gave entire satisfaction to his master's customers, and had the character of a very sober and orderly boy. But, alas, unhappy youth! before he had completed six years of his apprenticeship he commenced a fatal acquaintance with one Elizabeth Lyon, otherwise called Edgworth Bess, from a town of that name in

Middlesex, where she was born, the reputed wife of a foot-soldier, and who lived a wicked and debauched life; and our young carpenter became enamoured of her, and they must cohabit together as man and wife.

Now was laid the foundation of his ruin. Sheppard grows weary of the yoke of servitude, and began to dispute with his master, telling him that his way of jobbing from house to house was not sufficient to furnish him with a due experience in his trade, and that if he would not set out to undertake some buildings, he would step into the world for better information. Mr. Wood, a mild, sober, honest man, indulged him; and Mrs. Wood with tears exhorted him against the company of this lewd prostitute. But her man, prompted and hardened by his harlot, d——n'd her blood, and threw a stick at his mistress, and beat her to the ground. And being with his master at work at Mr. Britt's, the Sun Ale-house, near Islington, upon a very trivial occasion fell upon his master, and beat and bruised him in a most barbarous and shameful manner. Such a sudden and deplorable change was there in the behaviour of this promising young man. Next ensued a neglect of duty, both to God and his master, lying out of nights, perpetual jarrings, and animosities; these and such like were the consequences of his intimacy with this she-lion, who by the sequel will appear to have been a main loadstone in attracting him up to this eminence of guilt.

Mr. Wood having reason to suspect that Sheppard had robbed a neighbour, began to be in great fear and terror for himself, and when his man came not home in due season at nights, barred him out; but he made a mere jest of the locks and bolts, and entered in and out at pleasure; and when Mr. Wood and his wife have had all the reason in the world to believe him locked out, they have found him very quiet in his

bed the next morning, such was the power of his early magic.

Edgworth Bess having stolen a gold ring from a gentleman whom she had picked up in the streets, was sent to St. Giles's round-house. Sheppard went immediately to his consort, and after a short discourse with Mr. Brown, the beadle, and his wife, who had the care of the place, he fell upon the poor old couple, took the keys from them, and let his lady out at the door, in spite of all the outcries and opposition they were capable of making.

About July 1723, he was, by his master, sent to perform a repair at the house of Mr. Bains, a piece-broker in Whitehorse Yard; he from thence stole a roll of fustian, containing twenty-four yards, which was afterwards found in his trunk. This is supposed to be the first robbery he ever committed; and it was not long ere he repeated another upon this same Mr. Bains by breaking into his house in the night time, and taking out of the till seven pounds in money, and goods to the value of fourteen pounds more. How he entered this house was a secret till his being last committed to Newgate, when he confessed that he took up the iron bars at the cellar window, and after he had done his business he nailed them down again, so that Mr. Bains never believed his house had been broke; and an innocent woman, a lodger in the house, lay all the while under the weight of a suspicion of committing the robbery.

Sheppard and his master had now parted, ten months before the expiration of his apprenticeship — a woeful parting to the former. He was gone from a good and careful patronage, and lay exposed to, and complied with, the temptations of the most wicked wretches this town could afford, as Joseph Blake, *alias* Blueskin, William Field, Doleing, James Sykes, *alias* Hell and Fury, which last was the first

that betrayed and put him into the hands of justice, as will presently appear.

Having deserted his master's service, he took shelter in the house of Mr. Charles, in Mayfair, near Piccadilly, and his landlord having a necessity for some repairs in his house, engaged one Mr. Panton, a carpenter, to undertake them, and Sheppard to assist him as a journeyman; but on the 23rd of October 1723, ere the work was complete, Sheppard took occasion to rob the people of the effects following — viz., seven pounds ten shillings in specie, five large silver spoons, six plain forks ditto, four tea-spoons, six plain gold rings and a cipher ring, four suits of wearing apparel, besides linen to a considerable value. This fact he confessed to the Rev. Mr. Wagstaff before his escape from the condemned hold of Newgate.

Sheppard had a brother named Thomas, a carpenter by profession, though a notorious thief and housebreaker by practice. This Thomas being committed to Newgate for breaking the house of Mrs. Mary Cook, a linen-draper in Clare Market, on the 5th of February last, and stealing goods to the value of between fifty and sixty pounds, he impeached his brother, John Sheppard, and Edgworth Bess as being concerned with him in the fact; and these three were also charged with being concerned together in breaking the house of Mr. William Phillips, in Drury Lane, and stealing divers goods, the property of Mrs. Kendrick, a lodger in the house, on the 14th of the said February. All possible endeavours were used by Mrs. Cook and Mr. Phillips to get John Sheppard and Edgworth Bess apprehended, but to no purpose till the following accident.

Sheppard was now upon his wicked range in London, committing robberies everywhere at discretion; but one day meeting with his acquaintance, James Sykes,

alias Hell and Fury, sometimes a chairman, and at others a running footman, this Sykes invited him to go to one Redgate's, a victualling house near the Seven Dials, to play at skittles. Sheppard complied, and Sykes secretly sent for Mr. Price, a constable in St. Giles's parish, and charged him with his friend Sheppard, for the robbing of Mrs. Cook, &c. Sheppard was carried before Justice Parry, who ordered him to St. Giles's round-house till the next morning for further examination. He was confined in the upper part of the place, being two storeys from the ground, but ere two hours came about, by only the help of a razor and the stretcher of a chair, he broke open the top of the round-house, and tying together a sheet and a blanket, by them descended into the churchyard and escaped, leaving the parish to repair the damage, and repent of the affront put upon his skill and capacity.

On the 19th of May last, in the evening, Sheppard, with another robber named Benson, were passing through Leicester Fields, where a gentleman stood accusing a woman with an attempt to steal his watch. A mob was gathered round the disputants, and Sheppard's companion, being a master, got in amongst them and picked the gentleman's pocket in good earnest of the watch. The scene was surprisingly changed from an imaginary robbery to a real one, and in a moment ensued an outcry of "Stop thief." Sheppard and Benson took to their heels, and Sheppard was seized by a sergeant of the guard at Leicester House, crying out "Stop thief" with much earnestness. He was conveyed to St. Ann's round-house in Soho, and kept secure till the next morning, when Edgworth Bess came to visit him, who was seized also. They were carried before Justice Walters, when the people in Drury Lane and Clare Market appeared and charged them with the robberies afore

mentioned. But Sheppard pretending to impeach several of his accomplices, the Justice committed them to New Prison, with intent to have them soon removed to Newgate, unless there came from them some useful discoveries. Sheppard was now a second time in the hands of justice, but how long he intended to keep in them the reader will soon be able to judge.

He and his mate were now in a strong and well-guarded prison, himself loaded with a pair of double links and basils of about fourteen pounds weight, and confined together in the safest apartment called Newgate Ward. Sheppard, conscious of his crimes, and knowing the information he had made to be but a blind amusement that would avail him nothing, he began to meditate an escape. They had been thus detained for about four days, and their friends having the liberty of seeing them, furnished him with implements proper for his design; accordingly Mr. Sheppard goes to work, and on the 25th of May, being Whitsun-Monday, at about two of the clock in the morning, he had completed a practicable breach, and sawed off his fetters; having, with unheard-of diligence and dexterity, cut off an iron bar from the window, and taken out a muntin, or bar of the most solid oak of about nine inches in thickness, by boring it through in many places, a work of great skill and labour. They had still five-and-twenty feet to descend from the ground; Sheppard fastened a sheet and blanket to the bars, and causes Madam to take off her gown and petticoat, and sent her out first, and she being more corpulent than himself, it was with great pain and difficulty that he got her through the interval, and observing his directions, she was instantly down, and more frighted than hurt; the philosopher followed, and lighted with ease and pleasure. But where are they escaped to? why, out of one prison into another. The reader is to under-

stand that the New Prison and Clerkenwell Bridewell lie contiguous to one another, and they are got into the yard of the latter, and have a wall of twenty-two feet high to scale before their liberty is perfected. Sheppard, far from being unprepared to surmount this difficulty, has his gimlets and pincers ready, and makes a scaling ladder. The keepers and prisoners of both places are asleep in their beds; he mounts his baggage, and in less than ten minutes carries both her and himself over this wall and completes an entire escape. Although his escape from the condemned hold of Newgate has made a greater noise in the world than that from this prison hath, it has been allowed by all the jail-keepers in London, that one so miraculous was never performed before in England; the broken chains and bars are kept at New Prison to testify and preserve the memory of this extraordinary villain.

Sheppard, not warned by this admonition, returns like a dog to his vomit, and comes secretly into his master Wood's neighbourhood in Wych Street, and concerts measures with one Anthony Lamb, an apprentice to Mr. Carter, a mathematical instrument maker, for robbing of Mr. Barton, a master tailor, a man of worth and reputation who lodged in Mr. Carter's house; Charles Grace, a graceless cooper, was let into the secret, and consented and resolved to act his part. The 16th of June last was appointed. Lamb accordingly lets Grace and Sheppard into the house at midnight; they all go up to Mr. Barton's apartments well armed with pistols, and entered his rooms without being disturbed. Grace was posted at Mr. Barton's bedside with a loaded pistol, and positive orders to shoot him through the head if in case he awaked; Sheppard being engaged in opening the trunks and boxes the meanwhile. It luckily happened for Mr. Barton that he slept sounder

than usual that night, as having come from a merry-making with some friends; the poor man little dreaming in what dreadful circumstances. They carried off in notes and bonds, guineas, clothes made and unmade, to the value of between two and three hundred pounds; besides a Paduasoy suit of clothes, worth about eighteen or twenty pounds more; which having been made for a corpulent gentleman, Sheppard had them reduced, and fitted for his own size and wear, as designing to appear and make a figure among the *beau monde*. Grace and Sheppard having disposed of the goods at an ale-house in Lewkenor's Lane (a rendezvous of robbers and ruffians), took their flight, and Grace has not been heard of. Lamb was apprehended and carried before Justice Newton, and made an ample confession, and there being nothing but that against him at his trial, and withal a favourable prosecution, he came off with a sentence of transportation only. He, as well as Sheppard, has since confirmed all the above particulars, and with this addition, viz., that it was debated among them to have murdered all the people in the house, save one person.

About the latter end of the same month — June — Mr. Kneebone, a woollen-draper near the New Church in the Strand, received a caution from the father of Anthony Lamb, who intimated to Mr. Kneebone that his house was intended to be broke open and robbed that very night. Mr. Kneebone prepared for the event, ordering his servants to sit up, and gave directions to the watchman in the street to observe his house. At about two in the morning Sheppard and his gang were about the door; a maid-servant went to listen, and heard one of the wretches say, D——n him; if they could n't enter that night, they would another, and have three hundred pounds of his (meaning Mr. Kneebone's) money.

They went off, and nothing more was heard of them till Sunday the 12th day of July following, when Joseph Blake, *alias* Blueskin, John Sheppard, and William Field (as himself swears) came about twelve o'clock at night and cut two large oaken bars over the cellar window, at the back part of the house in Little Drury Lane, and so entered. Mr. Kneebone and his family being at rest, they proceeded to open a door at the foot of the cellar stairs, with three bolts and a large padlock upon it, and then came up into the shop and wrenched off the hasp and padlock that went over the press, and arrived at their desired booty. They continued in the house for three hours, and carried off with them 180 yards of broad woollen cloth, five yards of blue baize, a light tie-wig and beaver hat, two silver spoons, an handkerchief and a penknife; in all, to the value of near fifty pounds.

The Sunday following being the 19th of July, Sheppard and Blueskin were out upon the Hampstead road, and there stopped a coach with a lady's woman in it, from whom they took but half-a-crown, all the money then about her. The footman behind the coach came down and exerted himself; but Sheppard sent him in haste up to his post again by threat of his pistol.

The next night being the 20th of July, about nine they robbed Mr. Pargiter, a chandler of Hampstead, near the half-way house. Sheppard, after his being taken at Finchley, was particularly examined about this robbery, the Reverend Mr. Wagstaff having received a letter from an unknown hand, with two questions to be proposed to Sheppard, viz., whether he did rob John Pargiter on Monday the 20th of July, about nine at night, between the Turnpike and Hampstead; how much money he took from him? whether Pargiter was drunk or not, and if he had rings or watch about him when robbed? which

request was complied with, and Sheppard affirmed that Mr. Pargiter was very much in liquor, having a greatcoat on ; neither rings on his fingers, or watch, and only three shillings in his pocket, which they took from him, and that Blueskin knocked him down twice with the butt-end of his pistol to make sure work (though excess of drink had done that before), but Sheppard did in kindness raise him up as often.

The next night, July 21st, they stopped a stage-coach, and took from a passenger in it twenty-two shillings, and were so expeditious in the matter, that not two words were made about the bargain.

Now Mr. Sheppard's long and wicked course seemingly draws towards a period. Mr. Kneebone, having applied to Jonathan Wild, and set forth advertisements in the papers complaining of his robbery, on Tuesday the 22nd of July, at night, Edgworth Bess was taken in a brandy shop near Temple Bar by Jonathan Wild. She being much terrified, discovered where Sheppard was. A warrant was accordingly issued by Justice Blackerby, and the next day he was apprehended at the house of Blueskin's mother in Rosemary Lane, by one Quilt, a domestic of Mr. Wild's, though not without great opposition, for he clapped a loaded pistol to Quilt's breast and attempted to shoot him, but the pistol missed fire; he was brought back to New Prison and confined in the dungeon, and the next day carried before Justice Blackerby. Upon his examination he confessed the three robberies on the highway afore mentioned, as also the robbing of Mr. Bains, Mr. Barton, and Mr. Kneebone; he was committed to Newgate, and at the Sessions of Oyer and Terminer, and Jail Delivery, holden at the Old Bailey on the 12th, 13th, and 14th of August, he was tried upon three several indictments — viz., first, for breaking the house of William Phillips.

LIFE OF JOHN SHEPPARD

John Sheppard, of the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, was indicted for breaking the house of William Phillips, and stealing divers goods, the 14th of February last. But there not being sufficient evidence against the prisoner, he was acquitted.

He was also indicted a second time, of St. Clement Danes, for breaking the house of Mary Cook, the 5th of February last, and stealing divers goods. But the evidence against the prisoner being deficient as to this indictment also, he was acquitted.

He was also indicted a third time, of St. Mary, Savoy, for breaking the house of William Kneebone in the night-time, and stealing 180 yards of woollen cloth, the 12th of July last. The prosecutor deposed that the prisoner had some time since been his servant, and when he went to bed — the time mentioned in the indictment, about eleven o'clock at night — he saw all the doors and windows fast, but was called up about four in the morning, and found his house broke open, the bars of a cellar window having been cut, and the bolts of the door that comes upstairs drawn and the padlock wrenched off, and the shutter in the shop broken, and his goods gone; whereupon, suspecting the prisoner, he having committed ill actions thereabouts before, he acquainted Jonathan Wild, and he procured him to be apprehended. That he went to the prisoner in New Prison, and asking him how he could be so ungrateful to rob him after he had shown him so much kindness, the prisoner owned he had been ungrateful in doing so, informing him of several circumstances as to the manner of committing the fact, but said he had been drawn into it by ill company.

Jonathan Wild deposed the prosecutor came to him and desired him to inquire after his goods that had been stolen, telling him he suspected the prisoner to have been concerned in the robbery, he

having before committed some robberies in the neighbourhood. That inquiring after him, and having heard of him before, he was informed that he was an acquaintance of Joseph Blake; whereupon he sent for William Field, who came to him, upon which he told him, if he would make an ingenuous confession, he believed he could prevail with the court to make him an evidence. That he did make a discovery of the prisoner, upon which he was apprehended, and also of others since convicted, and gave an account of some parcels of the cloth, which were found accordingly. William Field deposed that the prisoner told him and Joseph Blake that he knew a ken where they might get something of worth; that they went to take a view of the prosecutor's house, but disapproved of the attempt as not thinking it easy to be performed; but the prisoner persuaded them that it might easily be done, he knowing the house — he having lived with the prosecutor. That thereupon he cut the cellar bar, went into the cellar, got into the shop, and brought out three parcels of cloth, which they carried away. The prisoner had also confessed the fact when he was apprehended and before the Justice. The fact being plainly proved, the jury found him guilty of the indictment.

Sentence of death was pronounced upon him accordingly. Several other prosecutions might have been brought against him, but this was thought sufficient to rid the world of so capital an offender. He begged earnestly for transportation to the most extreme foot of his Majesty's dominions, and pleaded youth and ignorance as the motive which had precipitated him into guilt; but the court, deaf to his importunities, as knowing him and his repeated crimes to be equally flagrant, gave him no satisfactory answer. He returned to his dismal abode —

the condemned hold — where were nine more unhappy wretches, in as dreadful circumstances as himself. The court being at Windsor, the malefactors had a longer respite than is usual. During that recess James Harman, Lumley Davis, and Sheppard agreed upon an escape, concerted measures and provided instruments to make it effectual, but put off the execution of their design on account [of] the two gentlemen having their hopes of life daily renewed by the favourable answers they received from some considerable persons; but those vanishing the day before their execution, and finding their sentence irreversible, they two dropped their hopes, together with the design they formed for an escape, and so in earnest prepared to meet death on the morrow, which they accordingly did. 'T was on this day Mr. Davis gave Sheppard the watch-springs, files, saws, &c., to effect his own release; and knowing that a warrant was hourly expected for his execution with two others on the Friday following, he thought it high time to look about him, for he had waited his trial, saw his conviction, and heard his sentence with some patience. But finding himself irrespitably decreed for death, he could sit passive no longer; and on the very day of the execution of the former, whilst they were having their fetters taken off in order for going to the tree — that day he began to saw. Saturday made a progress; but Sunday was omitted by reason of the concourse in the lodge. Edgworth Bess having been set at liberty, had frequent access to him, with others of his acquaintance. On Monday the death-warrant came from Windsor, appointing that he, together with Joseph Ward and Anthony Upton, should be executed on the Friday following, being the 4th of September. The keepers acquainted him therewith, and desired him to make good use of that short

time. He thanked them, said he would follow their advice and prepare. Edgworth Bess and another woman had been with him at the door of the condemned hold best part of the afternoon; between five and six he desired the other prisoners, except Stephen Fowles, to remain above while he offered something in private to his friends at the door. They complied; and in this interval he got the spike asunder, which made way for the skeleton to pass with his heels foremost, by the assistance of Fowles, whom he most ungenerously betrayed to the keepers after his being retaken, and the fellow was as severely punished for it.

Having now got clear of his prison, he took coach, disguised in a night-gown, at the corner of the Old Bailey, along with a man who waited for him in the street (and is supposed to be Page the butcher), ordering the coachman to drive to Blackfriars Stairs, where his prostitute gave him the meeting, and they three took boat, and went ashore at the horse-ferry at Westminster, and at the White Hart they went in, drank, and stayed some time; thence they adjourned to a place in Holborn, where, by the help of a saw, he quitted the chains he had brought with him from Newgate, and then like a free man took his ramble through the city and came to Spital-fields, and there lay with Edgworth Bess.

It may be easy to imagine what an alarm his escape gave to the keepers of Newgate, three of their people being at the farther end of the lodge, engaged in a discourse concerning his wonderful escape from New Prison, and what caution ought to be used, lest he should give them the slip, at that very instant he perfected it.

On Tuesday he sent for William Page, an apprentice to a butcher in Clare Market, who came to him, and being penniless, he desired Page to give him what

assistance he could to make his way, and being a neighbour and acquaintance, he complied with it; but ere he would do anything, he consulted a near relation, who, as he said, encouraged him in it — nay, put him upon it; so meeting with this success in his application to his friend, and probably an assistance in the pocket, he came to Sheppard, having bought him a new blue butcher's frock, and another for himself, and so both took their route to Warnden in Northamptonshire, where they came to a relation of Page's, who received and entertained them kindly, the people lying from their own bed to accommodate them — Sheppard pretending to be a butcher's son in Clare Market, who was going farther into the country to his friends, and that Page was so kind as to accompany him; but they, as well as their friend, became tired of one another. The butchers having but one shilling left, and the people poor, and consequently unable to submit to such fellows, after a stay of three or four days, they returned and came for London, and reached the city on Tuesday the 8th of September, calling by the way at Black-Mary's Hole, and drinking with several of their acquaintance, and then came into Bishopsgate Street, to one Cooley's, a brandy shop; where a cobbler being at work in his stall, stepped out and swore there was Sheppard; Sheppard hearing him, departed immediately. In the evening they came into Fleet Street, at about eight of the clock, and observing Mr. Martin's, a watchmaker's shop, to be open, and a little boy only to look after it, Page goes in and asks the lad whether Mr. Taylor a watchmaker lodged in the house? Being answered in the negative, he came away, and reports the disposition of the place. Sheppard now makes trial of his old masterpiece; fixeth a nail piercer into the door-post, fastens the knocker thereto with pack-thread, breaks the glass and takes out three silver watches of fifteen

pounds value, the boy seeing him take them, by reason of his contrivance. One of the watches he pledged for a guinea and a half. The same night they came into Wych Street; Sheppard going into his master's yard, and calling for his fellow-'prentice, his mistress knew his voice, and was dreadfully frightened; he next went to the Cock and Pie ale-house in Drury Lane, sent for a barber his acquaintance, drank brandy and ate oysters in the view of several people — Page waiting all the while at the door, the whole neighbourhood being alarmed, yet none durst attempt him, for fear of pistols, &c. He had vowed revenge upon a poor man as kept a dairy-cellar at the end of Whitehorse Yard, who having seen him at Islington after his escape, and engaged not to speak of it, broke his promise; wherefore Sheppard went to his residence, took the door off its hinges, and threw it down amongst all the man's pans [and] pipkins, and caused a deluge of cream and milk all over the cellar.

This night he had a narrow escape: one Mr. Ireton, a sheriff's officer, seeing him and Page pass through Drury Lane at about ten o'clock, pursued them, and laid hold of Page instead of Sheppard, who got off; thus Ireton missing the main man, and thinking Page of no consequence, let him go after him.

Edgworth Bess had been apprehended by Jonathan Wild, and by Sir Francis Forbes, one of the aldermen of London, committed to the Poultry-Compter, for being aiding and assisting to Sheppard in his escape. The keepers and others terrified and purged her as much as was possible to discover where he was; but had it been in her inclination, it was not in her power so to do, as it manifestly appeared soon after.

The people about the Strand, Wych Street, and Drury Lane whom he had robbed, and who had prosecuted him, were under great apprehensions and terror, and in particular Mr. Kneebone, on whom he

vowed a bloody revenge, because he refused to sign a petition in his behalf to the recorder of London. This gentleman was forced to keep armed people up in his house every night till he was retaken, and had the same fortified in the strongest manner. Several shopkeepers in this neighbourhood were also put to great expense and trouble to guard themselves against this dreadful villain.

The keepers of Newgate, whom the rash world loaded with infamy, stigmatised and branded with the title of persons guilty of bribery, for connivance at his escape, they and what posse in their power, either for love or money, did contribute their utmost to undeceive a wrong-notioned people. Their vigilance was remarkably indefatigable, sparing neither money nor time, night nor day, to bring him back to his deserved justice. After many intelligences, which they endeavoured for and received, they had one which proved very successful. Having learned for a certainty that their haunts was about Finchley Common, and being very well assured of the very house where they lay, on Thursday, the 10th of September, a posse of men, both of spirit and conduct, furnished with arms proper for their design, went for Finchley, some in a coach and four, and others on horseback. They dispersed themselves upon the common aforesaid, in order to make their view, where they had not been long ere they came in sight of Sheppard, in company of William Page, habited like two butchers, in new blue frocks, with white aprons tucked round their waists.

Upon Sheppard seeing Langley, a turnkey at Newgate, he says to his companion Page, "I see a stag," upon which their courage dropped, knowing that now their dealing way of business was almost at an end. However, to make their flight as secure as they could, they thought it advisable to take to a footpath, to

cut off the pursuit of the Newgate cavalry. But this did not prove most successful: Langley came up with Page (who was hindermost), and dismounting with pistol in hand, commands Page to throw up his hands, which he trembling did, begging for life, desiring him to fisk him, viz., search him, which he accordingly did, and found a broad knife and file. Having thus disarmed him, he takes the chub along with him in quest of the slippery eel Sheppard, who had taken shelter in an old stable belonging to a farm-house. The pursuit was close, the house invested, and a girl seeing his feet as he stood up hid, discovered him. Austin, a turnkey, first attacked his person; Langley seconded him; Ireton, an officer, helped to enclose; and happy was the hindermost who aided in this great enterprise. He being shocked with the utmost fear, told them he submitted, and desired they would let him live as long as he could, which they did, and used him mildly. Upon searching him they found a broad knife, with two of the watches as he had taken out of Mr. Martin's shop, one under each armpit; and now having gained their point, and made themselves masters of what they had often endeavoured for, they came with their lost sheep to a little house on the common that sold liquors, with this inscription on the sign, "I have brought my hogs to a fair market," which our two unfortunate butchers, under their then unhappy circumstances, had too sad reason to apply to themselves. Sheppard had by this time recovered his surprise, grew calm and easy, and desired them to give him brandy. They did, and were all good friends and company together.

They adjourned with their booty to another place, where was waiting a coach and four to convey it to a town with more speed and safety; and Mr. Sheppard arrived at his old mansion at about two in the after-

noon. At his alighting he made a sudden spring, he declared his intention was to have slipped under the coach, and had a race for it. He was put into the condemned hold, and chained down to the floor with double basils about his feet, &c. Page was carried before Sir Francis Forbes, and was committed to the same prison for accompanying and aiding Sheppard in his escape. The prudence of Mr. Pitt caused a separation between him and his brother the first night, as a means to prevent any ensuing danger by having two heads which (according to our proverbial saying) are better than one.

The joy the people of Newgate conceived on this occasion is inexpressible; *Te Deum* was sung in the lodge, and nothing but smiles and bumpers were seen there for many days together. But Jonathan Wild unfortunately happened to be gone upon a wrong scent after him to Stourbridge, and lost a share of the glory.

His escape and his being so suddenly retaken made such a noise in the town, that it was thought all the common people would have gone mad about him, there being not a porter to be had for love nor money, nor getting into an ale-house, for butchers, shoemakers, and barbers, all engaged in controversies and wagers about Sheppard. Newgate night and day [was] surrounded with the curious from St. Giles's and Rag-Fair, and Tyburn Road daily lined with women and children, and the gallows as carefully watched by night lest he should be hanged incog., for a report of that nature obtained much upon the rabble. In short, it was a week of the greatest noise and idleness among mechanics that has been known in London; and Parker and Pettis, two lyrics, subsisted many days very comfortably upon ballads and letters about Sheppard. The vulgar continued under great doubts and difficulties in what would be his case;

and whether the old warrant or a new one must be made for his execution, or a new trial, &c., were the great questions as arose and occasioned various reasonings and speculation, till a newspaper, called the *Daily Journal*, set them all to rights by the publication of the account following, viz.: — "J. Sheppard having been convicted of burglary and felony, and received sentence of death, and afterwards escaped from Newgate, and being since retaken, we are assured that it must be proved in a regular and judicial way that he is the same person who was so convicted and made his escape, before a warrant can be obtained for his execution, and that this affair will be brought before the court at the Old Bailey the next sessions." This was enough; people began to grow calm and easy, and got shaved and their shoes finished, and business returned into its former channel, the town resolving to wait the sessions with patience.

The Reverend Mr. Wagstaff, who officiated in the absence of the ordinary, renewed his former acquaintance with Mr. Sheppard, and examined him in a particular manner concerning his escape from the condemned hold. He sincerely disowned that all, or any, belonging to the prison were privy thereto, but related it as it has been described. He declared that Edgworth Bess, who had hitherto passed for his wife, was not really so. This was by some thought to be in him base and ungenerous, in that, as she had contributed towards his escape, and was in custody on that account, it might render her more liable to punishment than if she had been thought his wife. But he endeavoured to acquit himself by saying that she was the sole author of all his misfortunes; that she betrayed him to Jonathan Wild at the time he was taken in Rosemary Lane; and that when he was contriving his escape she disobeyed his orders, as when being required to attend at the door of the condemned hold by nine or ten

in the morning to facilitate his endeavours, she came not till the evening, which he said was an ungrateful return for the care he had taken in setting her at liberty from New Prison, and thus justified himself in what he had done, and said he cared not what became of her.

He was also examined about Mr. Martin's watches, and whether Page was privy to that robbery. He carefully guarded himself against uttering anything that might affect him, peremptorily declared him innocent of that as well as of being privy to his escape, and said that he only out of kindness, as being an old companion, was resolved to share in his fortunes after he had escaped.

He was again continually meditating a second escape, as appeared by his own hardiness and the instruments found upon him on Saturday the 12th and Wednesday the 16th of September: the first time a small file was found concealed in his Bible; and the second time two files, a chisel, and a hammer being hid in the rushes of a chair; and whenever a question was moved to him, when, or by what means those implements came to his hands, he would passionately fly out and say, "How can you? You always ask me these and such-like questions;" and in a particular manner when he was asked whether his companion Page was an accomplice with him, either in the affair of the watches or any other, he replied, that if he knew, he would give no direct answer, thinking it to be a crime in him to detect the guilty.

It was thought necessary by the keepers to remove him from the condemned hold to a place called the Castle, in the body of the jail, and to chain him down to two large iron staples in the floor. The concourse of people of tolerable fashion to see him was exceeding great. He was always cheerful and pleasant to

a degree, as turning almost everything as was said into a jest and banter.

Being one Sunday at the Chapel, a gentleman, belonging to the Lord Mayor asked a turnkey which was Sheppard? The man pointed to him. Says Sheppard, "Yes, sir, I am the Sheppard, and all the jailors in the town are my flock, and I cannot stir into the country but they are all at my heels baughing after me," &c.

He told Mr. Robins, the city smith, that he had procured him a small job, and that whoever it was that put the spikes on the condemned hold was an honest man, "for a better piece of metal," says he, "I never wrought upon in my life."

He was loth to believe his frequent robberies were an injury to the public; for he used to say, that if they were ill in one respect, they were as good in another; and that though he cared not for working much himself, yet he was desirous that others should not stand idle, more especially those of his own trade, who were always repairing of his breaches.

When serious, and that but seldom, he would reflect on his past wicked life. He declared to us, that for several years of his apprenticeship he had an utter abhorrence to women of the town, and used to pelt them with dirt when they fell in his way; till a button-mould maker, his next neighbour, left off that business, and set up a victualling house in Lewkenor's Lane, where himself and other apprentices resorted on Sundays and at all other opportunities. At this house began his acquaintance with Edgworth Bess. His sentiments were strangely altered, and from an aversion to those prostitutes, he had a more favourable opinion, and even conversation with them, till he contracted an ill distemper, which, as he said, he cured himself of by a medicine of his own preparing.

He inveighed bitterly against his brother Thomas

for putting him into the information for Mrs. Cook's robbery, and pretended that all the mischiefs that attended him was owing to that matter. He acknowledged that he was concerned in that fact, and that his said brother broke into his lodgings and stole from him all his share and more of the acquired booty.

He oftentimes averred that William Field was no ways concerned in Mr. Kneebone's robbery; but that, being a brother of the quill, Blueskin and himself told him the particulars and manner of the facts, and that all he swore against him at his trial was false, and that he had other authority for it than what came out of their (Sheppard and Blueskin) mouths, who actually committed the fact; and moreover, that Field, being acquainted with their warehouse (a stable) near the horse-ferry at Westminster, which Sheppard had hired, and usually deposited therein the goods he stole, he came one night, and broke open the same, and carried off the best part of the effects taken out of Mr. Kneebone's shop.

Sheppard said he thought this to be one of the greatest villainies that could be acted, for another to come and plunder them of things for which they had so honourably ventured their lives, and wished that Field, as well as his brother Tom, might meet with forgiveness for it.

He declared himself frequently against the practice of whidling or impeaching, which, he said, had made dreadful havoc among the thieves, and much lamented the depravity of the brethren in that respect, and said that if all were but such tight-cocks as himself, the reputation of the British thievery might be carried to a far greater height than it had been done for many ages, and that there would then be but little necessity for jailors and hangmen.

These and such like were his constant discourses when company went up with the turnkeys to the Castle to see him, and few or none went away without leaving him money for his support, in which he abounded, and did therewith some small charities to the other prisoners; however, he was abstemious and sparing enough in his diet.

Among many schemes laid by his friends for the preserving himself after his escape, we were told of a most remarkable one, proposed by an ingenious person, who advised that he might be expeditiously and secretly conveyed to the palace at Windsor, and there to prostrate his person and his case at the feet of a most gracious prince, and his case being so very singular and new, it might, in great probability, move the royal fountain of unbounded clemency; but he declined this advice, and followed the judgment and dictates of butchers, which very speedily brought him very near the door of the slaughter-house.

On the 4th of September, the day as Joseph Ward and Anthony Upton were executed, there was published a whimsical letter, which afforded diversion to the town and bread to the author, which is as follows, viz.: —

"Sir, — I thank you for the favour you intended me this day. I am a gentleman, and allow you to be the same, and, I hope, can forgive injuries. Fond Nature prompted, I obeyed. Oh, propitious minute! And to show that I am in charity, I am now drinking your health, and a *bon repos* to poor Joseph and Anthony. I am gone a few days for the air, but design speedily to embark, and this night I am going upon a mansion for a supply. It 's a stout fortification; but what difficulties can't I encounter when, dear Jack, you find that bars and

chains are but trifling obstacles in the way of your friend and servant.

"From my residence,

JOHN SHEPPARD,
"Terra Australis, incognita.

"*P.S.* — Pray, my services to Mr. Or—di—y and to Mr. App—ee."

On Saturday the 10th of October, Anthony Lamb and Thomas Sheppard, with ninety-five other felons, were carried from Newgate on shipboard, for transportation to the plantations. The last begged to have an opportunity given him of taking his final leave of his brother John; but this was not to be granted, and the greatest favour that could be obtained was that on the Sunday before they had an interview at the Chapel, but at such a distance that they neither saluted or shook hands, and the reason given for it was that no implements might be conveyed to Sheppard to assist him in making an escape.

This caution seemed to be absolutely necessary, for it appeared soon after that Sheppard found means to release himself from the staples to which he was chained in the Castle by unlocking a great padlock with a nail, which he had picked up on the floor, and endeavoured to pass up the chimney, but was prevented by the stout iron bars fixed in his way, and wanted nothing but the smallest file to have perfected his liberty. When the assistants of the prison came, as usual, with his victuals, they began to examine his irons. To their great surprise, they found them loose, and ready to be taken off at pleasure. Mr. Pitt, the head keeper, and his deputies were sent for, and Sheppard, finding this attempt entirely frustrated, discovered to them by

what means he had got them off; and after they had searched him, found nothing, and locked and chained him down again, he took up the nail and unlocked the padlock before their faces. They were struck with greatest amazement, as having never heard or beheld the like before. He was then handcuffed and more effectually chained.

The next day the Rev. Mr. Purney, ordinary of the place, came from the country to visit him, and complained of the sad disposition he found him in, as meditating on nothing but means to escape, and declining the great duty incumbent upon him to prepare for his approaching change. He began to relent, and said that since his last effort had proved not successful, he would entertain no more thoughts of that nature, but entirely dispose and resign himself to the mercy of Almighty God, of whom he hoped still to find forgiveness of his manifold offences.

He said that Edgworth Bess and himself kept a little brandy shop together in Lewkenor's Lane, and once saved about thirty pounds; but having such a universal acquaintance amongst thieves, he had frequent calls to go abroad, and soon quitted the business and his shop.

On Friday the 2nd of October, his old confederate Joseph Blake, *alias* Blueskin, was apprehended and taken at a house in St. Giles's parish by Jonathan Wild, and by Justice Blackerby committed to Newgate; William Field, who was at his liberty, appearing and making oath that Blueskin, together with John Sheppard and himself, committed the burglary and felony in Mr. Kneebone's house, for which Sheppard was condemned.

The sessions commencing at the Old Bailey on Wednesday the 14th of October, an indictment was found against Blueskin for the same, and he was

brought down from Newgate to the Old Bailey to be arraigned in order to his trial; and being in the yard within the gate before the court, Mr. Wild being there drinking a glass of wine with him, he said to Mr. Wild, "You may put in a word for me as well as for another person." To which Mr. Wild replied, "I cannot do that. You are certainly a dead man, and will be tucked up very speedily;" or words to that effect. Whereupon Blueskin on a sudden seized Mr. Wild by the neck, and with a little clasp-knife he was provided with he cut his throat in a very dangerous manner; and had it not been for a muslin stock twisted in several plaits round his neck, he had in all likelihood succeeded in his barbarous design before Ballard, the turnkey, who was at hand, could have time to lay hold of him. The villain triumphed afterwards in what he had done, swearing many bloody oaths that if he had murdered him he should have died with satisfaction, and that his intention was to have cut off his head and thrown it into the sessions-house yard among the rabble, and cursed both his hand and the knife for not executing it effectually.

Mr. Wild instantly had the assistance of three able surgeons, viz., Mr. Dobbins, Mr. Marten, and Mr. Coletheart, who sewed up the wound and ordered him to his bed, and he has continued ever since, but in a doubtful state of recovery.

The felons on the Common side of Newgate, also animated by Sheppard's example, the night before they were to be shipped for transportation, had cut several iron bars asunder, and some of them had sawn off their fetters, the rest huzzaing and making noises, under pretence of being joyful that they were to be removed on the morrow, to prevent the workmen being heard; and in two hours' time more, if their design had not been discovered, one hundred villains

had been let loose in the world, to have committed new desperations. Nothing was wanted here but Sheppard's great judgment, who was by himself in the strong room, called the Castle, meditating his own deliverance, which he perfected in the manner following.

On Thursday the 15th of this instant October, at between one and two in the afternoon, William Austin, an assistant to the keepers, a man reputed to be a very diligent and faithful servant, went to Sheppard in the strong room called the Castle with his necessaries, as was his custom every day. There went along with him Captain Geary, the keeper of New Prison; Mr. Gough, belonging to the Gatehouse in Westminster; and two other gentlemen who had the curiosity to see the prisoner. Austin very strictly examined his fetters and his handcuffs, and found them very safe. He ate his dinner, and talked with his usual gaiety to the company. They took leave of him, and wished him a good evening. The court being sitting at the Old Bailey, the keepers and most of their servants were attending there with their prisoners; and Sheppard was told that if he wanted anything more, then was his time, because they could not come to him till the next morning. He thanked them for their kindness, and desired them to be as early as possible.

The same night, soon after twelve of the clock, Mr. Bird, who keeps a turner's shop adjoining to Newgate, was disturbed by the watchman, who found his street door open, and called up the family, and they concluding the accident was owing to the carelessness of some in the house, shut their doors and went to bed again.

The next morning, Friday, at about eight, Mr. Austin went up as usual to wait on Sheppard, and having unlocked and unbolted the double doors

of the Castle, he beheld almost a cartload of bricks and rubbish about the room, and his prisoner gone. The man, ready to sink, came trembling down again, and was scarce able to acquaint the people in the lodge with what had happened.

The whole posse of the prison ran up and stood like men deprived of their senses. Their surprise being over, they were in the hopes that he might not have yet entirely made his escape, and got their keys to open all the strong rooms adjacent to the Castle in order to trace him, when, to their amazement, they found the doors ready open to their hands, and the strong locks, screws, and bolts broken in pieces and scattered about the jail. Six great doors (one whereof having not been opened for seven years past) were forced, and it appeared that he had descended from the leads of Newgate by a blanket (which he fastened to the wall by an iron spike he had taken from the hatch of the chapel) on the house of Mr. Bird; and the door on the leads having been left open, it is very reasonable to conclude he passed directly to the street door down the stairs, Mr. Bird and his wife hearing an odd sort of noise on the stairs as they lay in their bed a short time before the watchman alarmed the family.

Infinite numbers of citizens came to Newgate to behold Sheppard's workmanship, and Mr. Pitt and his officers very readily conducted them upstairs, that the world might be convinced there was not the least room to suspect either a negligence or connivance in the servants. Every one expressed the greatest surprise that has been known, and declared themselves satisfied with the measures they had taken for the security of their prisoner.

One of the sheriffs came in person, and went up to the Castle to be satisfied of the situation of the place, &c., attended by several of the city officers.

The court being sat at the sessions-house, the keepers were sent for and examined, and the magistrates were in great consternation that so horrid a wretch had escaped their justice, it being intended that he should have been brought down to the court the last day of the sessions, and ordered for execution in two or three days after, if it had appeared that he was the person condemned for the breaking Mr. Kneebone's house, and included in the warrant for execution, &c.

Many of the methods by which this miraculous escape was effected remain as yet a secret; there are some, indeed, too evident. The most reasonable conjecture that has hitherto been made is, that the first act was his twisting and breaking asunder by the strength of his hands a small iron chain, which, together with a great horse padlock (as went from the heavy fetters about his legs to the staples), confined him to the floor, and with a nail opened the padlock and set himself at liberty about the room. A large flat iron bar appears to have been taken out of the chimney, with the assistance whereof 't is plain he broke through a wall of many feet in thickness, and made his way from the Castle into another strong room contiguous, the door of it not having been opened since several of the Preston prisoners were confined there about seven years ago. Three screws are visibly taken off of the lock, and the doors, as strong as art could make them, forced open; the locks and bolts either wrenched or broke, and the cases and other irons made for their security cut asunder; an iron spike broke off from the hatch in the chapel, which he fixed in the wall, and fastened his blanket to it, to drop on the leads of Mr. Bird's house; his stockings were found on the leads of Newgate. 'T is questioned whether fifty pounds will repair the damage done to the jail.

It will perhaps be inquired how all this could be performed without his being heard by the prisoners or the keepers. 'T is well known that the place of his confinement is in the upper part of the prison, none of the other felons being kept anywhere near him, and 't is supposed that if any had heard him at work they would rather have facilitated than frustrated his endeavours. In the course of his breaches he passed by a door on his left belonging to the Common side felons, who have since cursed him heartily for his not giving them an opportunity to kiss his hand, and lending them a favourable lift when his hand was in; but that was not a work proper for Mr. Sheppard to do in his then circumstances.

His fetters are not to be found anywhere about the jail, from whence 't is concluded he has either thrown them down some chimney or carried them off on his legs. The latter seems to be impracticable, and would still render his escaping in such a manner the more astonishing; and the only answer that is given to the whole at Newgate is, that the devil came in person and assisted him.

He undoubtedly performed most of these wonders in the darkest part of the night, and without the least glimpse of a candle; in a word, he has actually done with his own hands in a few hours what several of the most skilful artists allow could not have been acted by a number of persons furnished with proper implements and all other advantages in a full day.

Never was there anything better timed, the keepers and all their assistants being obliged to a strict attendance on the sessions at the Old Bailey, which held for about a week; and Blueskin having confined Jonathan Wild to his chamber, a more favourable opportunity could not have presented for Mr. Sheppard's purpose.

The jailors suffered much by the opinion the

ignorant part of the people entertained of the matter, and nothing would satisfy some but that they not only connived at, but even assisted him, in breaking their own walls and fences, and that for this reason too, viz., that he should be at liberty to instruct and train up others in his method of housebreaking, and replenish the town with a new set of rogues to supply the places of those transported beyond sea.

This is indeed a fine way of judging; the well-known characters of Mr. Pitt and his deputies are sufficient to wipe off such ridiculous imputations; and 't is a most lamentable truth that they have oftentimes had in their charge villains of the deepest dye, persons of quality and great worth, for whom no entreaties, no sums how large so ever, have been able to interfere between the doleful prison and the fatal tree.

The officers have done their duty; they are but men, and have had to deal with a creature something more than man, a Proteus supernatural. Words cannot describe him; his actions and workmanship, which are too visible, best testify him.

On Saturday the 17th, Joseph Blake, *alias* Blue-skin, came upon his trial at the Old Bailey. Field gave the same evidence against him as he had formerly done against Sheppard; and the prisoner making but a trifling defence, the jury found him guilty of burglary and felony. The criminal, when the verdict was brought in, made his obeisances to the court, and thanked them for their kindness.

It will be necessary that we now return to the behaviour of Mr. Sheppard, some few days before his last flight.

Mr. Figg, the famous prize-fighter, coming to see him in Newgate, there passed some pleasant raillery between them; and after Mr. Figg was gone, Shep-

pard declared he had a mind to send him a formal challenge to fight him at all the weapons in the strong room ; and that, let the consequence be what it would, he should call at Mr. Figg's house in his way to execution, and drink a merry glass with him by way of reconciliation.

A young woman, an acquaintance of his mother, who washed his linen, and brought him necessaries, having in an affray got her eyes beaten black and blue, says Sheppard to her, "How long hast thou been married?" Replied the wench, "I wonder you can ask me such a question when you so well know the contrary." "Nay," says Sheppard again, "Sarah, don't deny it, for you have gotten your certificate in your face."

Mr. Ireton, a bailiff in Drury Lane, having pursued Sheppard after his escape from the condemned hold with uncommon diligence (for the safety of that neighbourhood which was the chief scene of his villainies), Sheppard, when retaken, declared he would be even with him for it, and if he ever procured his liberty again, he would give all his prisoners an act of grace.

A gentleman, in a jocose way, asked him to come and take a dinner with him. Sheppard replied he accepted of the invitation, and perhaps might take an opportunity to wait on him; and there is great reason to believe he has been as good as his word.

He would complain of his nights as saying it was dark with him from five in the evening till seven in the morning, and being not permitted to have either a bed or a candle, his circumstances were dismal; and that he never slept, but had some confused dozes. He said he considered all this with the temper of a philosopher.

Neither his sad circumstances nor the solemn exhortations of the several divines who visited him

were able to divert him from this ludicrous way of expression. He said they were all gingerbread fellows, and came rather out of curiosity than charity, and to form papers and ballads out of his behaviour.

A Welsh clergyman, who came pretty often, requested him in a particular manner to refrain drinking (though indeed there was no necessity for that caution). Sheppard says, "Doctor, you set an example and I 'll follow." This was a smart satire and repartee upon the parson, some circumstances considered.

When he was visited in the Castle by the Reverend Mr. Wagstaff, he put on the face only of a preparation for his end, as appeared by his frequent attempts made upon his escape; and when he has been pressed to discover those who put him upon means of escaping, and furnished him with implements, he would passionately, and with a motion of striking, say, "Ask me no such questions; one file 's worth all the Bibles in the world."

When asked if he had not put off all thoughts of an escape and entertained none but those of death, he would answer by way of question, not directly, whether they thought it possible or probable for him to effect his release when manacled in the manner he was. When moved to improve the few minutes that seemed to remain of his life, he did indeed listen to, but not regard, the design and purport of his admonition, breaking in with something new of his own, either with respect to his former accomplices or actions, and all, too, with pleasure and gaiety of expression.

When in chapel he would seemingly make his responses with devotion, but would either laugh or force expressions when, as an auditor of the sermon, he felt contempt either of the preacher or of his discourse.

In fine, he behaved so, in word and action (since retaken), that demonstrated to the world that his escape was the utmost employ of his thoughts, whatever face of penitence he put on when visited by the curious.

An Account of Sheppard's Adventures of five hours immediately after his escape from Newgate, in a letter to his friend:

"DEAR FRIEND, — Over a bottle of claret you 'll give me leave to declare it, that I've fairly put the vowels upon the good folks at Newgate — I.O.U. When I 'm able, I may or may not discharge my fees, 't is a fee-simple for a man in my condition to acknowledge; and though I 'm safe out of Newgate, I must yet have, or at least affect, a new gait, by limping or turning my toes in by making a right hand of my feet. Not to be long, for I hate prolixity in all business — in short, after filing, defiling, sawing, when nobody saw, climbing (this clime in), it proved a good turner of my affairs, through the house of a turner. Being quite past and safe from estreat on person or chattels, and safe in the street, I thought thanks due to him who could deliver hence; and immediately (for you must know I 'm a Catholic) to give thanks for my deliverance, I stepped amongst the Grey Friars to come and join with me in saying a Pater Noster or so at Amen Corner. The friars being fat, began to broil, and soon after boiled up into a passion to be disturbed at that time of night. But being got loose and having no time to lose, I gave them good words, and so the business was done. From thence I soon slipped through Ludgate, but was damnably fearful of an Old Bailey always lurking thereabout, who might have brought me to the Fleet for being too

nimble, besides I was wonderfully apprehensive of receiving some unwelcome huggings from the w——n there; therefore with a step and a stride I soon got over Fleet Ditch and (as in justice I ought) I praised the bridge I got over, being a bachelor and not being capable to manage a Bridewell, you know. I had no business near St. Bride's, so kept the right-hand side, designing to pop into the alley as usual; but fearing to go through there, and harp too much on the same string, it gave an ally to my intention, and on I went to Shoe Lane end; but there meeting with a bully hack of the town, he would have shoved me down, which my spirits resenting, though a brawny dog, I soon collared him, fell souse at him, then with his own cane I strapped till he was forced to buckle to, and hold his tongue, insomuch he durst not say his soul was his own, and was glad to pack off at last and turn his heels upon me. I was glad he was gone, you may be sure, and dexterously made a hand of my feet under the Leg tavern; but the very thoughts of Fetter Lane called to mind some passages which made me avoid the passage at the end of it (next to the coffee-house, you know), so I soon whipped over the way; yet going along, two wooden logger-heads at St. Dunstan's made just then a damned noise about their quarters, but the sight of me made perfectly hush in a minute; now fearing to go by Chance-a-wry Lane, as being upon the watch myself, and not to be debarred at Temple Bar, I stole up Bell Yard, but narrowly escaped being clapper-clawed by two fellows I did not like in the alley, so was forced to go round with a design to sheer off into Sheer Lane; but the trumpet sounding at that very time, alarmed me so, I was forced to grope my way back through Hemlock Court, and take my passage by Ship Yard without the Bar again; but there meeting with one of our trusty friends (all ceremonies apart), he told me under the rose I must

expect no mercy in St. Clement's parish, for the butchers there on the back on 't would face me, and with their cleavers soon bring me down on my marrow bones. You may believe I soon hastened thence; but by this time being fainty and nigh spent, I put forward, and seeing a light near the Savoy Gate, I was resolved not to make light of the opportunity, but called for a hearty dram of Luther and Calvin, that is, Mum and Geneva, mixed; but having fasted so long before, it soon got into my noddle, and ere I had gone twenty steps, it had so entirely stranded my reason, that by the time I came to Half-Moon Street end, it gave a new exchange to my senses, and made me quite lunatic.

"However, after a little rest I stole down George Passage into Oaf Alley in York Buildings, and thence (though a vile man) into Villiers Street, and so into the Strand again, where having gone a little way, Hefford's Harp, at the sign of the Irish Harp, put me a-jumping and dancing to that degree that I could not forbear making a somerset or two before Northumberland House. I thought once of taking the Windsor coach for myself, John Sheppard, by the name of Crook, but fearing to be hooked in before my journey's end, I slept in Hedge Lane, where two harlots were up in the boughs, it seems, branching out their respects to one another, through their windows, and people beginning to gather thereabout, I ran pell-mell to Piccadilly, where meeting by mere chance a baker's cart going to Turnham Green, I being not mealy-mouthed, nor the man being crusty, I wheeled out of town.

"I did call at Hammersmith, having no occasion directly. I shall stay two or three days in that neighbourhood, so if you direct a letter for Mr. Sligh Bolt, to be left with Mrs. Tabitha Skymmington, at Cheesewick, its safety will bear water by any boat, and

come current with the tide to, dear Bob, yours from the top of Newgate to the bottom, J. SHEPPARD.

"*P. S.* — If you see Blueskin, tell him I am well, and hope he received my last. I would write by the post if I durst, but it would be certainly postponed if I did, and it would be stranger, too, to trust a line by a stranger, who might palm upon us both, and never deliver it to hand.

"I send this by a waterman (I dare trust), who is very merry upon me, and says he would not be in my jacket.

"*Saturday, Oct. 17th*, 1724."

We shall conclude with what has been often observed by many persons to Sheppard, viz., that it was very imprudent in him to take shelter in the city, or the adjacent parts of it, after his escape from the condemned hold; and withal to commit a capital offence almost within sight of Newgate, when his life and all was in such danger. His reply was general, viz., that it was his fate; but being asked a peculiar reason for his not taking a longer route than the city and the neighbouring parts, pleaded poverty as his excuse for confinement within those limits; at the same time urging that had he been master at that time of five pounds, England should not have been the place of his residence, having a good trade in his hands to live in any populated part of the world.

A NARRATIVE

OF ALL THE

ROBBERIES, ESCAPES, &c.

OF

JOHN SHEPPARD

A NARRATIVE *of* ALL THE ROBBERIES, ESCAPES, &c. *of* JOHN SHEPPARD

AS my unhappy life and actions have afforded matter of much amusement to the world; and various pamphlets, papers, and pictures relating thereunto are gone abroad, most or all of them misrepresenting my affairs; 't is necessary that I should say something for myself, and set certain intricate matters in a true light; every subject, how unfortunate or unworthy soever, having the liberty of publishing his case. And it will be no small satisfaction to me to think that I have thoroughly purged my conscience before I leave the world, and made reparation to the many persons injured by me, as far as is in my poor power.

If my birth, parentage, or education will prove of service or satisfaction to mankind, I was born in Stepney parish, the year Queen Anne came to the crown; my father a carpenter by trade, and an honest, industrious man by character, and my mother bore and deserved the same. She, being left a widow in the early part of my life, continued the business, and kept myself, together with another unfortunate son, and a daughter, at Mr. Garrett's school, near Great St. Helen's, in Bishopsgate parish, till Mr. Kneebone, a woollen draper in the Strand, an acquaintance, regarding the slender circumstances of our family, took me under his care, and improved

me in my writing and accounts, himself setting me copies with his own hand; and he being desirous to settle me to a trade, and to make my mother easy in that respect, agreed with Mr. Owen Wood, a carpenter in Drury Lane, to take me apprentice for seven years, upon condition that Mr. Kneebone should procure Mr. Wood to be employed in performing the carpenter's work, &c., at a house at Hampstead, which he did accordingly, and upon that and no other consideration was I bound to Mr. Wood.

We went on together for about six years, there happening in that time what is too common with most families in low life, as frequent quarrels and bickerings. I am far from presuming to say that I was one of the best of servants, but I believe if less liberty had been allowed me then, I should scarce have had so much sorrow and confinement after. My master and mistress, with their children, were strict observers of the Sabbath, but 't is too well known in the neighbourhood that I had too great a loose given to my evil inclinations, and spent the Lord's Day as I thought convenient. It has been said in print that I did beat and bruise my master, Mr. Wood, in a most barbarous and shameful manner at Mr. Britt's, the Sun ale-house at Islington, and that I damned my mistress's blood, and beat her to the ground, &c. These stories have been greatly improved to my disadvantage. Mr. Wood cannot but remember how hard I wrought for him that day at Islington, what refreshment was offered to my fellow-servant and myself; the cause of that unhappy quarrel is still fresh in my memory; and as for that of my mistress, when Elizabeth Lyon and her husband, a soldier, were quarrelling together in Mr. Wood's yard, I bid them be gone, and threw a small lath at Lyon, which might fall on my mistress,

but she received no harm as I know of, and if she did I am sorry for it.

After all, I may justly lay the blame of my temporal and (without God's great mercies) my eternal ruin on Joseph Hind, a button-mould maker, who formerly kept the Black Lion ale-house in Drury Lane; the frequenting of this wicked house brought me acquainted with Elizabeth Lyon, and with a train of vices, as before I was altogether a stranger to. Hind is now a lamentable instance of God's divine vengeance, he being a wretched object about the streets; and I am still far more miserable than him.

It has been said, in the History of my Life, that the first robbery I ever committed was in the house of Mr. Bains, a piece-broker in Whitehorse Yard. To my sorrow and shame, I must acknowledge my guilt of a felony before that, which was my stealing two silver spoons from the Rummer tavern at Charing Cross, when I was doing a job there for my master — for which I ask pardon of God, and the persons who were wrongfully charged and injured by that my crime.

Unhappy wretch! I was now commenced thief, and soon after housebreaker. Growing gradually wicked, 't was about the latter end of July 1723 that I was sent by my master to do a job at the house of Mr. Bains aforesaid. I there stole a roll of fustian containing twenty-four yards, from amongst many others, and Mr. Bains not missing it, had consequently no suspicion. I offered it to sale among the young lads in our neighbourhood at 12d. per yard; but meeting with no purchasers, I concealed the fustian in my trunk.

On the 1st of August following, I again wrought in Mr. Bains's shop, and that night at about twelve of the clock I came and took up the wooden bars over the cellar window, so entered and came up into

the house, and took away goods to the value of fourteen pounds, besides seven pounds in money out of the till, then nailed down the bars again and went off. The next day I came to the house to finish the shutters for the shop, when Mr. Bains and his wife were in great trouble for their loss, saying to me they suspected a woman, their lodger, had let the rogues in, for that they were assured the house had not been broken; the poor people little dreaming they were telling their story to the thief, I condoling with them, and pretending great sorrow for their misfortune. Not long afterwards my fellow-'prentice Thomas acquainted Mr. Wood that he had observed a quantity of fustian in my trunk. My master and I had broke measures, and I being absent from home and hearing Thomas had tattled, in the night-time I broke through a neighbour's house and into my master's, and so carried off the fustian, to prevent the consequence of a discovery. Mr. Wood rightly concluding I had stolen it from Mr. Bains, sent him word of what had happened, who, upon overlooking his goods, soon found his loss, and threatened to prosecute me for the robbery. I thought it was advisable to meet the danger, and therefore went to Mr. Bains, bullied and menaced him, and bid him be careful how he sullied my reputation, lest he might be brought to repent of it. But this was not sufficient to avert the danger. Mr. Bains resolving to proceed upon the circumstances he was already furnished with, I thought of another expedient, and acknowledged that I had a piece of fustian which my mother had bought for me in Spitalfields, of a weaver; and she, poor woman, willing to screen her wicked son, confirmed the story, and was a whole day together with Mr. Bains in Spitalfields to find out the pretended weaver. In the end I was forced to send back about nineteen yards of the fustian to Mr.

Bains, and then the storm blew over. I related all these particulars to Mr. Bains when he came to me in the Castle room, as well to wipe off the suspicion from the poor innocent woman, Mr. Bains's lodger, as for his own satisfaction.

I abruptly quitted Mr. Wood's service almost a year before the expiration of my apprenticeship, and went to Fulham, and there wrought as a journeyman to a master carpenter, telling the man that I had served out my apprenticeship in Smithfield. Elizabeth Lyon cohabiting with me as my wife, I kept her in a lodging at Parson's Green; but Mr. Wood's brother being an inhabitant in the town, discovered me, and my master with Justice Newton's warrant brought me to London, and confined me in St. Clement's round-house all night. The next day I was carried to Guildhall to have gone before the chamberlain, but he being gone, I agreed with Mr. Wood, and making matters easy, got clear of him, and then fell to robbing almost every one that stood in my way. The robbery at Mr. Charles's house in Mayfair I have confessed in a particular manner to Mr. Wagstaff, and to many others.

The robberies of Mr. Bains, Mr. Barton, and Mr. Kneebone, together with the robbery of Mr. Pargiter and two others on the Hampstead Road, along with Joseph Blake, *alias* Blueskin, I did amply confess before Justice Blackerby, Mr. Bains and Mr. Kneebone being present, and did make all the reparation that was in my power, by telling them where the goods were sold, part whereof has been recovered by that means to the owners.

I declare upon the word of a dying man, that Will Field was not concerned with Blueskin and myself in the breaking and robbing of Mr. Kneebone's house, although he has sworn the same at our respective trials; and I have been informed that by

certain circumstances which Field swore to, Mr. Kneebone himself is of opinion that he was not concerned in the fact; but he has done the work for his master, who in the end, no doubt, will reward him, as he has done all his other servants. I wish Field may repent and amend his wicked life, for a greater villain there is not breathing. Blueskin and myself, after we had robbed Mr. Kneebone's house, lodged the goods at my warehouse, a little stable at Westminster horse-ferry, which I had hired for such purposes. I was so cautious of suffering any one to be acquainted with it, that even Elizabeth Lyon was out of the secret; but hearing of a Loch or Ferne in Bishopsgate Street to dispose of the cloth to, Blueskin carried the pack, and I followed to guard him, and met the chap at an ale-house. A small quantity we got off at a very low price, which was always not ours, but is the constant fate of all other robbers; for I declare that when goods (the intrinsic value whereof has been fifty pounds) have been in my hands, I have never made more than ten pounds of them clear money; such a discount and disadvantage attends always the sale of such unlawful acquirements. Field lodging with Blueskin's mother in Rosemary Lane, we all became acquainted, and being all of a piece, made no secret of Mr. Kneebone's robbery; we told him the manner of it, the booty, &c., and withal carried him down to the warehouse at Westminster, he pretending to buy the goods. In a day or two after, to the great surprise of Blueskin and myself, we found the warehouse broke open, the cloth gone, and only a wrapper or two of no value left; we concluded, as it appeared after, that Field had played at rob-thief with us, for he produced some of Mr. Kneebone's cloth at my trial, of which he became possessed by no other means than those I have related. I must add this

to what relates to Mr. Kneebone's robbery, that I was near a fortnight, by intervals, in cutting the two oaken bars that went over the back part of his house in Little Drury Lane. I heartily ask his pardon for injuring him, my kind patron and benefactor, in that manner, and desire his prayers to God for the forgiveness of that, as of all my other enormous crimes.

I have been at times confined in all the round-houses belonging to the respective parishes within the liberty of Westminster; Elizabeth Lyon has been a prisoner in many of them also. I have sometimes procured her liberty, and she at others has done her utmost to obtain mine, and at other times she has again betrayed me into the hands of justice. When I was formerly in St. Anne's round-house, she brought me the spike of an halbert, with the help whereof I did break open the same, but was discovered before I could get off, and was put into the dungeon of the place, fettered and manacled; and that was the first time that I had any irons put upon me. I in return rescued her from St. Giles's round-house soon after; but the manner of my own escape from St. Giles's round-house may be worthy of notice. Having, in confederacy with my brother Thomas, a seafaring person, and Elizabeth Lyon, committed several robberies about Clare Market, and Thomas being in Newgate for them, impeached me and Lyon; and the prosecutors being in close pursuit of us, I kept up as much as possible; till being one day at the Queen's Head ale-house in King Street, Westminster, an acquaintance called Sykes (*alias* Hell and Fury), a chairman, desired me to go thence to an ale-house at the Seven Dials, saying he knew two chubs that we might make a penny of at skittles, we being good players: I went with him. A third person he soon procured, and said the fourth should not be long wanting, and truly he proved to be a constable of St.

Giles's parish. In short, Sykes charged him with me, saying I stood impeached of several robberies. Justice Parry sent me to St. Giles's round-house for that night, with orders to the constable to bring me before him again the next morning for farther examination. I had nothing but an old razor in my pocket, and was confined in the upper part of the place, being two storeys from the ground. With my razor I cut out the stretcher of a chair, and began to make a breach in the roof, laying the feather bed under it to prevent any noise by the falling of the rubbish on the floor. It being about nine at night, people were passing and re-passing in the street, and a tile or brick happening to fall, struck a man on the head, who raised the whole place; the people calling aloud that the prisoners were breaking out of the round-house. I found there was no time then to be lost, therefore made a bold push through the breach, throwing a whole load of bricks, tiles, &c., upon the people in the street; and before the beadle and assistance came up I had dropped into the church-yard, and got over the lower end of the wall, and came amidst the crowd, who were all staring up, some crying, "There's his head, there he goes behind the chimney," &c. I was well enough diverted with the adventure, and then went off about my business.

The methods by which I escaped from New Prison, and the condemned hold of Newgate, have been printed in so many books and papers, that it would be ridiculous to repeat them; only it must be remembered that my escaping from New Prison, and carrying with me Elizabeth Lyon over the wall of Bridewell yard, was not so wonderful as has been reported, because Captain Geary and his servants cannot but know that by my opening the great gate I got Lyon upon the top of the wall without the

help of a scaling-ladder, otherwise it must have been impracticable to have procured her redemption. She indeed rewarded me as well for it, in betraying me to Jonathan Wild so soon after. I wish she may reform her life: a more wicked, deceitful, and lascivious wretch there is not living in England. She has proved my bane. God forgive her: I do; and die in charity with all the rest of mankind.

Blueskin has atoned for his offences. I am now following, being just on the brink of eternity, much unprepared to appear before the face of an angry God. Blueskin had been a much older offender than myself, having been guilty of numberless robberies, and had formerly convicted four of his accomplices, who were put to death. He was concerned along with me in the three robberies on the Hampstead Road, besides that of Mr. Kneebone, and one other. Though he was an able-bodied man and capable of any crime, even murder, he was never master of a courage or conduct suitable to our enterprises; and I am of opinion that neither of us had so soon met our fate if he would have suffered himself to have been directed by me — he always wanting resolution when our affairs required it most. The last summer, I hired two horses for us at an inn in Piccadilly, and being armed with pistols, &c., we went upon Enfield Chase, where a coach passed us with two footmen and four young ladies, who had with them their gold watches, tweezer cases, and other things of value. I declared immediately for attacking them; but Blueskin's courage dropped him, saying that he would first refresh his horse and then follow, but he designedly delayed till we had quite lost the coach and hopes of the booty. In short, he was a worthless companion, a sorry thief, and nothing but the cutting of Jonathan Wild's throat could have made him so considerable.

I have often lamented the scandalous practice of thief-catching, as it is called, and the public manner of offering rewards for stolen goods, in defiance of two several Acts of Parliament; the thief-catchers living sumptuously, and keeping of public offices of intelligence: these, who forfeit their lives every day they breathe, and deserve the gallows as richly as any of the thieves, send us as their representatives to Tyburn once a month; thus they hang by proxy, while we do it fairly in person.

I never corresponded with any of them. I was indeed twice at a thief-catcher's levee, and must confess the man treated me civilly; he complimented me on my successes, said he heard that I had both a hand and head admirably well turned to business, and that I and my friends should be always welcome to him; but caring not for his acquaintance, I never troubled him, nor had we any dealings together.

As my last escape from Newgate out of the strong room called the Castle, has made a greater noise in the world than any other action of my life, I shall relate every minute circumstance thereof as far as I am able to remember — intending thereby to satisfy the curious, and do justice to the innocent. After I had been made a public spectacle for many days together, with my legs chained together, loaded with heavy irons, and stapled down to the floor, I thought it was not altogether impracticable to escape if I could but be furnished with proper implements; but as every person that came near me was carefully watched, there was no possibility of any such assistance; till one day in the absence of my jailors, being looking about the floor, I spied a small nail within reach, and with that, after a little practice, I found the great horse padlock that went from the chain to the staple in the floor might be unlocked, which I did afterward at pleasure; and was frequently about the room, and

have several times slept on the barracks, when the keepers imagined I had not been out of my chair. But being unable to pass up the chimney, and void of tools, I remained but where I was; till being detected in these practices by the keepers, who surprised me one day before I could fix myself to the staple in the manner as they had left me, I showed Mr. Pitt, Mr. Rouse, and Mr. Parry my art, and before their faces unlocked the padlock with the nail; and though people have made such an outcry about it, there is scarce a smith in London but what may easily do the same thing. However, this called for a farther security of me; and till now I had remained without handcuffs, and a jolly pair was provided for me. Mr. Kneebone was present when they were put on: I with tears begged his intercession to the keepers to preserve me from those dreadful manacles, telling him, my heart was broken, and that I should be much more miserable than before. Mr. Kneebone could not refrain from shedding tears, and did use his good offices with the keepers to keep me from them, but all to no purpose; on they went, though at the same time I despised them, and well knew that with my teeth only I could take them off at pleasure. But this was to lull them into a firm belief that they had effectually frustrated all attempts to escape for the future. I was still far from despairing. The turnkey and Mr. Kneebone had not been gone downstairs an hour ere I made an experiment, and got off my handcuffs, and before they visited me again I put them on, and industriously rubbed and fretted the skin on my wrists, making them very bloody, as thinking (if such a thing was possible to be done) to move the turnkeys to compassion, but rather to confirm them in their opinion; but though this had no effect upon them, it wrought much upon the specta-

tors, and drew down from them not only much pity, but quantities of silver and copper. But I wanted still a more useful metal, a crow, a chisel, a file, and a saw or two, those weapons being more useful to me than all the mines of Mexico; but there was no expecting any such utensils in my circumstances.

Wednesday the 14th of October the sessions beginning, I found there was not a moment to be lost; and the affair of Jonathan Wild's throat, together with the business at the Old Bailey, having sufficiently engaged the attention of the keepers, I thought then was the time to push. Thursday the 15th, at about two in the afternoon, Austin, my old attendant, came to bring my necessaries, and brought up four persons, viz., the keeper of Clerkenwell Bridewell, the clerk of Westminster Gatehouse, and two others. Austin, as it was his usual custom, examined the irons and handcuffs, and found all safe and firm, and then left me; and he may remember that I asked him to come again to me the same evening, but I neither expected or desired his company; and happy was it for the poor man that he did not interfere while I had the large iron bar in my hand, though I once had a design to have barricaded him or any others from coming into the room while I was at work; but then considering that such a project would be useless, I let fall that resolution.

As near as can be remembered, just before three in the afternoon I went to work, taking off first my handcuffs; next with main strength I twisted a small iron link of the chain between my legs asunder, and the broken pieces proved extreme useful to me in my design; the fetlocks I drew up to the calves of my legs, taking off before that my stockings, and with my garters made them firm to my body, to prevent their shackling. I then proceeded to make

a hole in the chimney of the Castle about three feet wide, and six feet high from the floor, and with the help of the broken links aforesaid wrenched an iron bar out of the chimney, of about two feet and a half in length, and an inch square — a most notable implement. I immediately entered the Red Room directly over the Castle, where some of the Preston rebels had been kept a long time agone; and as the keepers say, the door had not been unlocked for seven years; but I intended not to be seven years in opening it, though they had. I went to work upon the nut of the lock, and with little difficulty got it off, and made the door fly before me. In this room I found a large nail, which proved of great use in my farther progress. The door of the entry between the Red Room and the Chapel proved a hard task, it being a laborious piece of work; for here I was forced to break away the wall, and dislodge the bolt which was fastened on the other side. This occasioned much noise, and I was very fearful of being heard by the Master-side debtors. Being got to the Chapel, I climbed over the iron spikes, and with ease broke one of them off for my further purposes, and opened the door on the inside. The door going out of the Chapel to the leads, I stripped the nut from off the lock, as I had done before from that of the Red Room, and then got into the entry between the Chapel and the leads; and came to another strong door, which being fastened by a very strong lock, there I had like to have stopped, and it being full dark, my spirits began to fail me, as greatly doubting of succeeding; but cheering up, I wrought on with great diligence, and in less than half-an-hour, with the main help of the nail from the Red Room, and the spike from the Chapel, wrenched the box off, and so made the door my humble servant.

A little farther in my passage another stout door

stood in my way; and this was a difficulty with a witness, being guarded with more bolts, bars, and locks than any I had hitherto met with. I had by this time great encouragement, as hoping soon to be rewarded for all this toil and labour. The chimes at St. Sepulchre's were now going the eighth hour, and this proved a very useful hint to me soon after. I went first upon the box and the nut, but found it labour in vain; and then proceeded to attack the fillet of the door: this succeeded beyond expectation, for the box of the lock came off with it from the main post. I found my work was near finished, and that my fate soon would be determined.

I was got to a door opening in the lower leads, which being only bolted on the inside, I opened it with ease, and then clambered from the top of it to the higher leads, and went over the wall. I saw the streets were lighted, the shops being still open, and therefore began to consider what was necessary to be further done, as knowing that the smallest accident would still spoil the whole workmanship, and was doubtful on which of the houses I should alight. I found I must go back for the blanket which had been my covering a-nights in the Castle, which I accordingly did, and endeavoured to fasten my stockings and that together, to lessen my descent, but wanted necessaries so to do, and was therefore forced to make use of the blanket alone. I fixed the same with the Chapel spike into the wall of Newgate, and dropped from it on the turner's leads, a house adjoining to the prison. 'T was then about nine of the clock, and the shops not yet shut in. It fortunately happened that the garret door on the leads was open. I stole softly down about two pair of stairs, and then heard company talking in a room — the door open. My irons gave a small clink, which made a woman cry, "Lord, what noise is that?" A man

replied, "Perhaps the dog or cat;" and so it went off. I returned up to the garret, and laid myself down, being terribly fatigued; and continued there for about two hours, and then crept down once more to the room where the company were, and heard a gentleman taking his leave, being very importunate to be gone, saying he had disappointed friends by not going home sooner. In about three-quarters more the gentleman took leave, and went, being lighted downstairs by the maid, who, when she returned, shut the chamber door. I then resolved at all hazards to follow, and slipped downstairs, but made a stumble against a chamber door. I was instantly in the entry and out at the street door, which I was so unmannerly as not to shut after me. I was once more, contrary to my own expectation and that of all mankind, a free man.

I passed directly by St. Sepulchre's watch-house, bidding them good-morrow, it being after twelve, and down Snow Hill, up Holborn, leaving St. Andrew's watch on my left, and then again passed the watch-house at Holborn Bars, and made down Gray's Inn Lane into the fields, and at two in the morning came to Tottenham Court, and there got into an old house in the fields, where cows had some time been kept, and laid me down to rest, and slept well for three hours. My legs were swelled and bruised intolerably, which gave me great uneasiness; and having my fetters still on, I dreaded the approach of the day, fearing then I should be discovered. I began to examine my pockets, and found myself master of between forty and fifty shillings. I had no friend in the world that I could send to, or trust with my condition. About seven on Friday morning it began raining, and continued so the whole day, insomuch that not one creature was to be seen in the fields. I would freely have parted with my right hand for a

hammer, a chisel, and a punch. I kept snug in my retreat till the evening, when after dark I ventured into Tottenham, and got to a little blind chandler's shop, and there furnished myself with cheese and bread, small beer, and other necessaries, hiding my irons with a greatcoat as much as possible. I asked the woman for a hammer, but there was none to be had; so I went very quietly back to my dormitory, and rested pretty well that night, and continued there all Saturday. At night I went again to the chandler's shop and got provisions, and slept till about six the next day, which being Sunday, I began to batter the basils of the fetters in order to beat them into a large oval, and then to slip my heels through. In the afternoon the master of the shed, or house, came in, and seeing my irons, asked me, "For God's sake, who are you?" I told him, an unfortunate young man who had been sent to Bridewell about a bastard child, as not being able to give security to the parish, and had made my escape. The man replied, if that was the case, it was a small fault indeed, for he had been guilty of the same things himself formerly; and withal said, however, he did not like my looks, and cared not how soon I was gone.

After he was gone, observing a poor-looking man like a joiner, I made up to him and repeated the same story, assuring him that 20s. should be at his service if he could furnish me with a smith's hammer and a puncheon. The man proved a shoemaker by trade; but willing to obtain the reward, immediately borrowed the tools of a blacksmith his neighbour, and likewise gave me great assistance; and before five that evening I had entirely got rid of those troublesome companions my fetters, which I gave to the fellow, besides his 20s., if he thought fit to make use of them.

That night I came to a cellar at Charing Cross, and refreshed very comfortably with roast veal, &c., where about a dozen people were all discoursing about Sheppard, and nothing else was talked on whilst I stayed amongst them. I had tied a handkerchief about my head, tore my woollen cap in many places, as likewise my coat and stockings, and looked exactly like what I designed to represent, a beggar fellow.

The next day I took shelter at an ale-house of little or no trade, in Rupert Street, near Piccadilly. The woman and I discoursed much about Sheppard. I assured her it was impossible for him to escape out of the kingdom, and that the keepers would have him again in a few days. The woman wished that a curse might fall on those who should betray him. I continued there till the evening, when I stepped towards the Haymarket, and mixed with a crowd about two ballad singers — the subject being about Sheppard; and I remember the company was very merry about the matter.

On Tuesday I hired a garret for my lodging at a poor house in Newport Market, and sent for a sober young woman, who for a long time past had been the real mistress of my affections, who came to me, and rendered all the assistance she was capable of affording. I made her the messenger to my mother, who lodged in Clare Street. She likewise visited me in a day or two after, begging on her bended knees of me to make the best of my way out of the kingdom, which I faithfully promised; but I cannot say it was in my intentions heartily so to do.

I was oftentimes in Spitalfields, Drury Lane, Lewkenor's Lane, Parker's Lane, St. Thomas Street, &c., those having been the chief scenes of my rambles and pleasures.

I had once formed a design to have opened a shop or two in Monmouth Street for some necessaries, but

let that drop, and came to a resolution of breaking the house of the two Mr. Rawlins's, brothers and pawnbrokers in Drury Lane, which I accordingly put in execution, and succeeded; they both hearing me rifling their goods as they lay in bed together in the next room. And though there were none others to assist me, I pretended there was, by loudly giving out directions for shooting the first person through the head that presumed to stir: which effectually quieted them, while I carried off my booty; with part whereof on the fatal Saturday following, being the 31st of October, I made an extraordinary appearance, and from a carpenter and butcher was now transformed into a perfect gentleman; and in company with my sweetheart aforesaid, and another young woman her acquaintance, went into the city, and were very merry together at a public-house not far from the place of my old confinement. At four that same afternoon we all passed under Newgate in a hackney-coach, the windows drawn up, and in the evening I sent for my mother to the Sheers ale-house in Maypole Alley, near Clare Market, and with her drank three quarterns of brandy; and after leaving her I drank in one place or other about that neighbourhood all the evening, till the evil hour of twelve, having been seen and known by many of my acquaintance; all of them cautioning of me, and wondering at my presumption to appear in that manner. At length my senses were quite overcome with the quantities and variety of liquors I had all the day been drinking of, which paved the way for my fate to meet me; and when apprehended, I do protest, I was altogether incapable of resisting, and scarce knew what they were doing to me, and had but two second-hand pistols scarce worth carrying about me.

A clear and ample account have I now given of the most material transactions of my life, and do

hope the same will prove a warning to all young men.

There nothing now remains. But I return my hearty thanks to the Reverend Dr. Bennet, the Reverend Mr. Purney, the Reverend Mr. Wagstaff, the Reverend Mr. Hawkins, the Reverend Mr. Flood, and the Reverend Mr. Edwards, for their charitable visits and assistances to me; as also my thanks to those worthy gentlemen who so generously contributed towards my support in prison.

I hope none will be so cruel as to reflect on my poor distressed mother, the unhappy parent of two miserable wretches, myself and brother; the last gone to America for his crimes, and myself going to the grave for mine; the weight of which misfortune is sufficient surely to satisfy the malice of her enemies.

I beseech the Infinite Divine Being of beings to pardon my numberless and enormous crimes, and to have mercy on my poor departing soul.

JOHN SHEPPARD.

MIDDLE STONE ROOM IN NEWGATE,
November 10, 1724.

POSTSCRIPT

After I had escaped from the Castle, concluding that Blueskin would have certainly been decreed for death, I did fully resolve and purpose to have gone and cut down the gallows the night before his execution.

THE LIFE AND ACTIONS OF JONATHAN WILD

THE PREFACE

THE several absurd and ridiculous accounts which have been published, notwithstanding early and seasonable caution given, of the life and conduct of this famous, or, if you please, infamous creature, Jonathan Wild, make a short preface to this account absolutely necessary.

It is something strange that a man's life should be made a kind of a romance before his face, and while he was upon the spot to contradict it, or that the world should be so fond of a formal chimney-corner tale, that they had rather a story should be made merry than true.

The author of this short but exact account of Mr. Wild assures the world that the greatest part of all that has hitherto appeared of this kind has been evidently invented and framed out of the heads of the scribbling authors merely to get a penny, without regard to truth or fact, or even to probability, or without making any conscience of their imposing on the credulous world.

Nay, so little ground has there been for them that, except there was such a man as Jonathan Wild, that he was born at Wolverhampton, lived in the Old Bailey, was called a thief-catcher, and was hanged at Tyburn, there is not one story printed of him that can be called truth, or that is not mingled up with so much falsehood and fable as to smother and drown that little truth which is at the bottom of it.

PREFACE

The following tract does not indeed make a jest of his story as they do, or present his history, which indeed is a tragedy of itself, in a style of mockery and ridicule, but in a method agreeable to the fact. They that had rather have a falsehood to laugh at than a true account of things to inform them, had best buy the fiction, and leave the history to those who know how to distinguish good from evil.

INTRODUCTION

THE undertaker of this work having easily foreseen that the story of this eminent criminal would be acceptable to the world, resolved some time ago to publish it; but knowing at the same time it would be attempted over and over by our hackney Grub Street writers, upon the old pickpocket principle of publishing anything to get a penny, they therefore took care not only to furnish themselves with authentic and full vouchers for the truth of what they have to say, but also to have the account of him to be very particular, and such as may answer their title.

Upon the assurance of their being thus provided not only to give a true but also a full and complete account of him, they took care to give the world an early and timely notice that such a work was preparing for the press, in order to prevent people's being imposed upon, and to that purpose they advertised this work in several public prints, and they are satisfied that as on one hand it has prepared the world to expect this account, so it will fully answer their expectation now it appears.

They have not satisfied themselves in their inquiries to take things upon the credit of common fame, which, generally speaking, is a common something, nor have they supplied by invention the particulars of what wanted such helps. The life of this unhappy wretch is too full of incidents, and that of an uncommon nature, to stand in need of any such

helps, and we are so far from wanting matter to fill up the tract and make the story out, that, on the contrary, we are forced to abridge and contract some of the most considerable passages of his life, that we may bring it all into as narrow a compass as we can.

The life of Jonathan Wild is a perfectly new scene: as his conduct has been inimitable, so his employment has been singular to him, and is like to be so; for as it began, so it is like to die with him; no man among the most daring of the clan being, we believe, so hardy as to venture to take it up after him.

Every step he took was criminal, and the very actions which he did with the greatest openness and an avowed professed allowance, merited the gallows even by the very letter; but pray note, when we say allowance, we mean his own allowance, for no other power or person could allow him in it.

It is true he had an inimitable boldness in his behaviour, and by detecting some criminals he assumed a kind of power to protect others; only the difference lay here, namely, that he did the first publicly and the last privately; so that, in a word, he served the public in the first, and abused the public in the second; and was only deceived in this, that he thought his being useful in the first would protect him in being criminal in the last; but here he was, we say, mistaken, and fell into a snare which all his pretended merit could not deliver him from.

Take him as a man only, he had a kind of brutal courage which fitted him to be an instrument in attacking some of the most desperate of the several gangs of rogues he had to do with. But as this courage also served to make him audacious in the other wicked things he undertook, he was rather bold than courageous, and might be called impudent;

but we cannot say he was brave, as appeared in a more particular manner in his stupid and confused behaviour during his lying in Newgate, and at his execution — of which in its place.

We have the advantage in this account to come at the particulars of his story from unquestionable authority; for, as he was sensible, wrong accounts would be published of him. He was not backward to give materials from his own mouth which nobody can contradict; and others, fully conversant with him, having given the same stories or accounts of the same facts, we have the satisfaction to see them agree fully together, and thereby be assured of the truth of both; for in such cases there could be no combination to deceive us.

Not that it is possible to obtain a full account of all the particular villainies of Jonathan Wild during a series of sixteen years, in which he reigned in all his wickedness with such success, as no age can produce the like. 'T is enough if we give you a general view of his life, or a scheme of his practice, illustrated by examples; which examples, likewise, might be farther set forth by more examples and by stories full of an infinite variety, which, if collected together, would make up a large volume in folio, and yet leave many of them unrelated.

It is true, as we shall take notice in its place, that the world does not charge Jonathan with being himself actually a highwayman or robber; or that when any of the gangs of Prancers (as they are called in the Newgate cant) went out upon the grand design, he ever went with them; and we are assured he did not. He knew the trade too well to put his life into such a hazard; he knew how common a bite it was among such people to save their own lives at the expense of their companions; but he was too cunning for that. And he had likewise a so much better

trade in hand, by which he was sure to make a prey both of the persons robbed and of the rogues that robbed them, that he would have been worse than lunatic if he had been drawn in to be a party.

The part he acted in the fact for which he suffered, was more than he ordinarily did, or than we ever find he ventured to do before, for here he was both thief and thief-catcher too, which he did not usually venture. But a secret infatuation was now upon him, and Heaven, who had determined his fate, no doubt left him to expose himself more in this one action than he had done for many years before, and by this he fell.

It is said, that if this had not fixed him, there were other facts charged which would effectually have done: to that we shall say nothing, because those others have not been tried. 'T is enough, Jonathan died not in his own way of thief-catching, but by going out of his road, and taking a share in the robbery, as he did after in the reward; and here he was taken in his own snare, for the very thieves he employed were the witnesses that hanged him. But we say no more of that till we come to the story itself. We now proceed to the particular account of his life.

The LIFE AND ACTIONS OF JONATHAN WILD

JONATHAN WILD, the wretched subject of this history, was born at Wolverhampton, in Staffordshire, and, to do justice to his original, his parents, though mean, had the repute of honest and industrious people, his father being a carpenter, and his mother sold herbs and fruit in the market of Wolverhampton. They had three sons and two daughters. The two daughters are yet living, and married to honest tradesmen in Wolverhampton, one to a comb-maker, and the other a buckle-maker, and whose characters we do not fear are any way blemished; but the sons have all a different frame.

The brothers, I say, were three in number, Jonathan, John, and Andrew. John was a public officer in the town where they lived, being the crier of Wolverhampton; but stepping out of his employment in the time of the late Preston rebellion, and making himself popular by heading and appearing among the rabble, for pulling down the meeting-house at Wolverhampton, he was taken up for a rioter, brought to London, and put into custody of a messenger, where he continued some time, till he was sent down again in custody to Stafford, to be tried at the assizes held there for the county. There he was convicted, and received sentence to be publicly whipped, and afterwards to lie in prison for a certain time, which sentence was accordingly executed. But the same John, being afterwards at liberty, the time of his imprisonment being expired, died about four

years ago, as did also his mother much about the same time — that is to say, within a month of one another.

The younger brother, Andrew, being by trade a Birmingham ware-man, or in particular a buckle-maker, left his own country and came up to London. What trade he has driven here we shall not meddle with, the man being yet alive; and as we are not writing his story, but that of his elder brother, so we are not willing to enter into anything that may be prejudicial to particular persons on any account whatever; 't is enough to say that we hear he is at this time a prisoner in the Poultry-Compter for debt; so that it seems all the three brothers have had some acquaintance with the inside of a jail, though on different accounts.

Jonathan, as I have said, was the eldest brother. He was born about the year 1683, being at the time of his execution about two-and-forty years of age, of which something more than thirteen years has been spent in the most exquisite villainies, of which we shall give some account in this work.

His education was suitable to his father's circumstances, being taught, in the Free-School of Wolverhampton, to read and write; and then his father put him apprentice to a Birmingham man, or, as they call them there, a hardware man, and particularly a buckle-maker.

Authors are not agreed in the name of his master, and as it is not material, we also let it pass without any notice. Having served his time out, or, as some say, but part of it, he got into the service of one Councillor Daniel, of Staffordshire, and came up with him to London as his servant. This was about the year 1704. But whether he did not please his master, or that he took ill courses so early, we have not inquired, but that councillor dismissing him, he

went home again to Wolverhampton, and very honestly worked for some time at his trade.

But his thoughts, as he said, being above his trade, though at that time he had no taste of the life he afterwards led, yet he grew uneasy in the country, was sick of his work, and, in short, after a few years came away to London, to see if he could get into any business there.

Here he found but little encouragement, and though he worked at his trade, yet what he could get at his day labour but ill served to maintain him, whose temper even then was not much given to frugality, which, with his being not inclined to sit very close to his work neither, made him run out pretty much, till at length it was his misfortune to be arrested for debt, and carried to Wood Street Compter.

Here he suffered great hardship, having no friends to help him out, or money to maintain him within, so that he was on the Common side, and fared as other people in those circumstances do fare, that is to say, very hard.

However, after having lain a long time there, he at length, having behaved himself well enough among the prisoners, got so much favour with the keepers that he got the liberty of the gate, as they call it.

His business here was chiefly to attend in the night, in case any prisoners were brought in for disorders in the street; to wait upon them, and guard them, with the officers, to any justice of the peace, and so back again if they were committed; and in this he discharged himself to satisfaction, so that he was at length trusted to go of errands, and the like liberties, to get a penny.

Among the great variety of night-walking offenders which came into his custody at length there comes in one Mary Milliner, who, after having been carried

before a justice, might be remanded to the Compter for the present; but being a jade of some fame, she soon found her way out again, for we do not find she was reckoned to be a prisoner there at all.

Whether it was that she was frequently brought in there in her night rambles, and might receive some favours from him on that occasion, it being much in his way to favour such as she was, he being as a kind of keeper set over them, or whether they contracted a friendship at first sight, or what other incident brought it about, I know not; but Mr. Wild not only became acquainted with her, but a more than common intimacy soon grew between them, insomuch that she began to teach him a great many new, and to him unknown, ways of getting money, and brought him into her own gang, whether of thieves or whores, or of both, is not much material.

By the advantage of this new correspondence, Mr. Wild soon cleared himself of his imprisonment, the debt for which he was thrust into the Compter being but small; and though he had a wife at that time living at Wolverhampton, and had a son by her, which son is still living, as we shall hear presently; and though this new favourite he had pitched upon had also a husband then living, a waterman by his profession, yet they pretended to be married, and lived together some time as man and wife; and this we are to call his second wife, for he had six of them in all. This Mrs. Milliner, as I am informed, is still living, so that Mr. Wild has left several widows behind him at his exit; whether they go by his name or not, that he himself could not inform us.

During his intimacy with this Mrs. Milliner, and by her means, he grew acquainted with some other of the wicked ways of living which, it seems, she practised besides that of whoring; and first, it seems, she

carried him out with her upon the twang. This is one of the cant words for those who attend upon the night-walking ladies in their progress, and who keep at a distance, that if the lady they are employed by happens to fall into any broil, they may come in timely to her assistance, and making a noise and a quarrel, if possible fall a-fighting, and so give her an opportunity to walk off, which Jonathan often practised with good success.

He improved his time during his acquaintance with this Mary Milliner to a very great degree, for she brought him acquainted with several gangs or societies of the sharping and thieving world, insomuch that in a little time he knew all their several employments, and the several parts they acted, their haunts and their walks, how they performed, and how they managed their effects when they had met with success; and as he seemed to set up for a director to them, under the government of that dexterous lady, his first instructor, so he found ways to make himself as useful to them as if he had gone abroad with them, which, however, he always avoided. Nor, indeed, had he any occasion to run a hazard himself, he finding himself as much a gainer in the part he acted as if he had shared in the adventure; so that, in a word, he had the profit without the danger, and politically kept himself from the last on pretence of his increasing the first by his art in managing for them.

Thus, without being a thief or a receiver, he brought a gain to himself, and his business went on prosperously.

How he and his lady parted after this is a story which has nothing extraordinary in it; 't is enough to say that Jonathan became such a proficient in his business that he stood no longer in need of her instructions; and as she had a trade of her own, which

he began to be sick of assisting her in, they made no difficulty of separating with as little ceremony as they came together; though I do not find but that they kept a kind of remote correspondence after they were separated as to cohabitation, and the other trade was carried on with mutual assistance as well as to mutual advantage for some time.

And here it is very remarkable that though during this intercourse of Mr. Wild among these loose people, as above, many of them daily fell into the hand of justice, and some went off the stage (the high-road, as they call it), that is to say, by the gallows, yet none of them had anything to say to Jonathan or to his she-friend, Mrs. Milliner; but these always did their business so clean, with such subtlety, and so much to the advantage of the criminals, that it was of no use to them to charge him or her with anything.

In this dexterous way of managing it came frequently in his way, where anything of value was stolen, to make it worth more money, both to himself and to the thief who had stolen it, by his private ways, which, at the same time, the criminal knew nothing of. The case was thus: —

It is not to be doubted that, when a robbery was committed, the thieves sometimes ran as much hazard in securing what they had got as they did in the getting of it, and oftentimes much more; nay, they were very often discovered and detected in their attempts to turn what they had got into money, or to sell and dispose of it, when they had escaped the danger of the fact itself and come off clean.

There was a time, indeed, when there were brokers and receivers whose business it was to take everything off of their hands as soon as they had gotten it, and a young shoplifter or housebreaker had no sooner got a booty but he knew where to go and

carry it in, as to a warehouse or repository, where he was sure to have money for it, and that something near the value of it too; and this was a great encouragement to the light-fingered gang; so that when it was a misfortune of a family or person to lose any goods, they were effectually lost, and seldom or never were they heard of any more.

But there being an Act passed in the reign of the late King William, making it felony to buy or receive any stolen goods, knowing them to be stolen, and one or two bold people having suffered on that very account, the receiving trade was spoiled all at once; and when the poor adventurer had, at the hazard of his neck, gotten any purchase, he must run all that hazard over again to turn it into money.

It is true, after some time, the temptation being strong and the profits great, there were persons frequently found again that did help the adventurers, and took of their goods; but then the thief got so small a share that the encouragement was very small, and had it continued so, the thieving trade might, for aught I know, have been in danger of being lost; for the receivers running so extreme a hazard, they got all the profit, and the poor lifter or housebreaker was glad to part with things of the greatest value for a trifle.

But Jonathan and his director soon found out a way to encourage the trade again, and to make it worth while, as they called it; and the first method was this: when a purchase was made, Jonathan inquired first where it was gotten, what house had been robbed, or who had lost the goods; and having learned that, his next business was to have the goods deposited in proper places, always avoiding the receiving them himself, or bringing himself into any jeopardy as to the law.

Then he found out proper instruments to employ to go to the persons who had been robbed, and tell them that if they could describe what they had lost, they believed they could help them to them again; for there was a parcel of stolen goods stopped by an honest broker, to whom they were offered to be sold, and if their goods were among them, they might have them again for a small matter of expense.

The people who had been robbed, it may be supposed, were always willing enough to hear of their goods again, and very thankful to the discoverer, and so readily gave an account of the things they had lost, with such proper descriptions of them as were needful. The next day they should be told there was such or such part of their goods stopped among other goods, which, it was supposed, were stolen from other people, and so, upon assurance given on both sides to make no inquiry into the particular circumstances of stopping the goods, and a consideration to the person who went between for helping the loser to his goods again, the things were restored, and the person received abundance of thanks for his honesty and kindness; and this part always fell to Jonathan or his mistress, Milliner, or perhaps both, who always pretended they got nothing for their pains but the satisfaction of having helped the people to recover their own again, which was taken by a company of rogues; professing their sorrow that they had not had the good luck at the same time to detect the rogues that took them, and bring them to the punishment they deserved.

On the other hand, they acted as safe a part with the thief also, for, rating and reproving the rogue for his villainy, they would pretend to bring them to an honest restoring the goods again, taking a reasonable consideration for their honesty, and so bring them to lodge them in such place as should be directed; and

sometimes, as I have been told, he has officiously caused the thief or thieves to be taken with the goods upon them, when he has not been able to bring them to comply, and so has made himself both thief and chapman, as the proverb says, getting a reward for the discovery, and bringing the poor wretch to the gallows too, and this only because he could not make his market of him to his mind; but I must be so just to Jonathan, too, as to say he did not acknowledge this, so that this part was not had from his own mouth; yet perhaps it may not be the less true, nor do I think it would be very hard to prove the fact.

As to the other part, he was never backward to own that it was his early practice, and boasted of it as doing a piece of service which none but himself could manage, and that he thereby assisted honest people in the recovery of their own; how far he acted honestly in the doing it, supposing he had no hand in the robbery itself, I leave to the casuists to determine; no question, in their Newgate divinity, they might think it a mighty honest way of getting money, for as to the encouragement, it was to the robbery itself, while the thief knew beforehand how to come off of the guilt and get money in his pocket — that they gave their thoughts no trouble about.

This trade, I found by his own discourse, he carried on a great while, and had he gone no farther, I question whether it had been in any man's power to have hurt him to the last; nay, or that even the laws would have reached his life, notwithstanding the late Act which seemed to be calculated on purpose to put a stop to his trade. But he knew no bounds to his gain, and therefore knew no restraint of laws, or at least considered of none, till he involved himself in a mass of crimes, out of which it was impossible he should recover.

But to return to the first part of this unjust com-

merce, which, whatever gloss he might put upon it, was no other than an encouraging rogues to rob and plunder, and then demanding money for them to bring back what they had stolen, out of which he secured always a share for himself. This practice of giving people notice of their goods after they were robbed becoming pretty public, and especially several people recovering their lost goods upon the easy conditions of giving a gratuity to the discoverer, being known, it introduced another weak, foolish practice as a consequence, namely, that after this, when any person was robbed, they always published the particulars of their lost goods, with the promise of a reward to those who should discover them. It [is] reasonable, indeed, to suppose that this might occasion a discovery one way or other, either by the thieves betraying one another, or else by directing the buyers of goods who were honestly inclined to stop such goods if they came to be offered, and hence it was a usual practice in such advertisements to add, that if such goods were offered to be sold or pawned, they were desired to stop both the goods and the persons, and give notice, so and so, as directed.

But this was in every way an ineffectual method, and, indeed, the latter part was particularly so; for, indeed, it was neither more or less than giving a caution to the thief not to venture to offer anything he had gotten to sale, for he should be sure to be stopped as well as the goods; and, indeed, it was strange that the people who published such advertisements should not foresee the making such a publication would be an effectual shutting the door against the discovery they designed it for, and was therefore nothing but a throwing good money after bad.

On the other hand, neither was the advertising or publishing their loss any real service, or of any use

to the loser, for that the only person who could assist in the recovery of the goods was quite out of the question, having no need of the information, but coming by his intelligence another way, viz., from the thief himself; and that if there had been no such information, I mean by public print, he would, as usual, have been sure to have sent an account to the loser, and have come to a treaty with him another way; for the thief giving an account to Mr. Jonathan Wild where the robbery was committed, and whose goods they were, the cunning artist always made application to the loser first; and if it was asked, how they came to know who the goods were taken from? it was always answered, that it was merely providential; being, by mere accident, at a tavern, or at a friend's house in the neighbourhood, they heard that such a gentleman had his house broken open, and such and such goods stolen, and the like.

This was so plausible a story, and carried so much an appearance of truth with it, that it left room for no inquiry. But, on the other hand, if the people to whom the discovery was made, were too inquisitive, the party sent presently seemed to take it ill, and replied, "Sir, I come to serve you. If you think to make any discovery by me of the thieves that robbed you, I must tell you that you are mistaken. I converse with no such cattle. I can give a very good account of myself to you or anybody else. I only come to tell you that some goods, being offered to sale by a suspected hand, the person to whom they were offered had the honesty to stop them, and the goodness to give you some notice of it, that you may see whether your goods are among them or not; if this is not enough to oblige you, I have done. If you have anything to say to me, or think to talk to me about the thief

or thieves that robbed you, I have no more to say to you, but to let you know my name is so and so, and I live in such a place; if you have anything to say to me, I am to be found, sir, at any time." And thus they take their leave in a huff. And this never fails to bring the inquirer to a better temper, and either immediately, or soon after, to treat them with more civility.

And, indeed, the offer itself seems so good, and the appearance so above board, that not a magistrate or justice of peace could find the least flaw in it. Only inquire where the goods are which are stopped, in which case a place and person is named, and goods produced when any one is sent to view them; but then the party so cavilling at that offer is sure to find none of his own goods among them; and so being lost, as it were, in a wood, he is perfectly amused, and has not one word to say; for he neither sees his own goods, nor knows that the other goods are stolen, much less by who or from who; and thus, by his being too curious, or rather impertinent, he loses his goods entirely, and has no second offer made him.

It must be confessed, Jonathan played a sure game in all this; and therefore it is not to be wondered at that he went on for so many years without any disaster. Nay, he acquired a strange, and indeed unusual, reputation for a mighty honest man, till his success hardened him to put on a face of public service in it, and for that purpose to profess an open and bare correspondence among the gangs of thieves, by which his house became an office of intelligence for inquiries of that kind, as if all stolen goods had been deposited with him in order to be restored.

But even this good character of his, as it did not last long, so neither did it come all at once; and some

tell us (how true it is I will not affirm) that he was obliged to give up, every now and then, one or two of his clients to the gallows, to support his rising reputation; in which cases he never failed to proclaim his own credit in bringing offenders to justice, and in delivering his country from such dangerous people.

Some have gone so far as to tell us the very particulars which recommended any of the gangs to him for a sacrifice, and to divide them into classes. For example — (1) such as having committed the secret of a fact to him, yet would not submit their purchase to his disposal; or (2) would not accept reasonable terms of composition for restoring the goods; or (3) used any threatening speeches against their comrades. These he would immediately cause to be apprehended, he knowing both their haunts and where the goods were deposited; and, in such cases, none so vigilant in the discovery, or so eager in apprehending the thief. And, generally speaking, he had his ways and means to bring in others of the gang to come in and confess, that they might impeach the person so intended to be given up to justice.

This, I say, some have affirmed was his practice, and assured me of the truth of it; and that in these cases, they add, he managed with such dexterity, that he always obtained public applause as a mighty forward man to detect the villainies of those people, and bring offenders to justice.

How many he murdered in that manner—for as his end was only making a sacrifice to his own interest and fame, I can call it no other, — I say, how many they were, I cannot learn; but if it has been a practice of so many years' standing, and so frequent in that time, it cannot be doubted but the number has been very considerable; nor does it a little contribute to the belief of the thing, that the fraternity

of thieves in general were of late so exasperated against him; for though the method was in itself wicked in him, yet it certainly brought a great many criminals to just condemnation, who would otherwise have lived to do much more mischief than they did.

And this occasioned him, doubtless, to push on with the more heat and fury against those who stood in his way, and where he could exert his power without fear of being touched himself, as particularly against the late J. Sheppard, Blueskin, and others, in the taking, retaking, and prosecuting of whom he was very officious; while, at the same time, those audacious criminals exclaimed against him, as a man who had [been] the first great encourager of their villainies, or, at least, had been instrumental to draw them into the very practice itself; in revenge for which, the said Blueskin bid fair for giving Jonathan his quietus in the very face of justice. But his fate was to die with more infamy than he would have gone off with if he had been sent off at that time.

But to return to the history itself, whatever was at the bottom of his designs, 'tis evident he had two very clear pretences for what he did; and on these two pretences it was that he supported the credit of all his monstrous doings, and which, indeed, no man but himself could have shown his face in: (1) the public good in taking and apprehending the most open and notorious criminals; and (2) the procuring and restoring the goods again to the right owners, which had been stolen from them either by fraud or violence.

It was allowed that neither of these could be done effectually, as Jonathan did them, but by an avowed intimacy and acquaintance among the gangs and societies of thieves of every sort; and it was very hard to imagine that such an intimacy could be maintained without being really a party to their management, and without a criminal correspondence with

them in the very facts; and Jonathan was often told so, as well by those who believed him really guilty of such a criminal correspondence, as those that did not.

But be that as it will, Jonathan himself always denied it, and insisted not only on his innocence, but on his merit; and that as he was indeed acquainted with the wicked ways made use of by all the several classes of thieves, and, by consequence, with many of them personally, he only made use of that acquaintance to persuade and prevail upon them, when good rewards were offered for it, to restore the goods to the people who had lost them; placing himself so only in the middle, between the loser and the robber, as to capitulate for the latter, that if the goods were returned, the loser should keep promise, and give a reward, without inquiring into the particulars or persons, which would otherways put an end to all restorings or returnings of stolen goods for ever after.

This part he insisted on as not only very honest, but very serviceable; always insisting that whatever he took on either side was no otherwise than as a solicitor takes his fee, on consideration from both parties, for honestly putting an end to a lawsuit, and bringing the contending parties to a friendly accommodation; and had he gone no farther, I cannot say but he might be in the right. But he acted in a more difficult station, as placing himself in the middle, between the law and the offender, in a manner commuting the felony, and making a kind of composition where the fact was punishable; which punishment no man had power to anticipate but the hand above, which had power also to remit the penalty — namely, the supreme magistrate.

It must be allowed to Jonathan's fame, that as he steered among rocks and dangerous shoals, so he was a bold pilot; he ventured in and always got out in a

manner equally surprising; no man ever did the like before him, and I dare say no man will attempt to do the like after him. Two things, indeed, favoured him: (1) the willingness the Government always shows to have criminals detected and brought to justice; and (2) the willingness of the people who have been robbed, and lost things of considerable value, to get their goods again.

1. The willingness of the Government to bring rogues to their reward, as well to punish the persons as to discourage the crime. All just Governments discover a disposition to bring offenders to justice; and on this account they not only receive and accept of informations of the worst of crimes from the worst of criminals, and the knowledge of the offence from the offenders themselves, but encourage such criminals to come in and confess the offence, and discover their accomplices, promising as well, pardon for the crimes as a reward for the discovery, even to those who are guilty. Now, this willingness of the Government to detect thieves, seemed to be a kind of authority for Jonathan in his vigorous pursuit of those who he thought fit to have punished; though, 't is true, it was no authority to him to draw poor fellows first into the crime, that he might afterwards obtain a reward from the Government for detecting and apprehending them; and there, indeed, is the nice turn of Jonathan's case, and which, indeed, has turned him off of the stage at the long-run, as we shall see in its place.

He continued in this prosperous part of his business about ten years, without being so publicly taken notice of, or making himself so famous, as he has been lately; and in this time it was not doubted but he got a large stock of money, as well as of credit; and had he contented himself with the same cautious, wary way of acting, which his first instruc-

tor introduced him by, he might have grown rich, and been safe too; but as he was of a pushing, enterprising nature, he could content himself with nothing but everything he could get, nor could he act moderately in any part of his conduct.

In this time of his prosperity he married a third wife (his two former, if they were wives, being still living); her name was Elizabeth Man, who, though she was a woman of the town, was yet a very sensible and agreeable person, and her short history is this: — He loved her above all the other women he had taken for wives, and lived publicly with her, which he did not with any of the rest. He had no children by her, but she was, as he himself confessed, a true penitent for all her former life, and made him an excellent wife; she expiated her former bad life by a formal full confession and penance; having, on that occasion, been persuaded to turn Roman Catholic, and having received absolution from her confessor, lived a very sober life for some years, after which she died, and was buried at St. Pancras-in-the-Fields; and Jonathan retained such an impression of the sanctity and goodness of this wife, that he never forgot it as long as he lived, and ordered himself to be buried close to her when he died, which his friends took care to see performed about two of the clock in the morning.

He had two wives, as they are called, besides this, and after her death, who, I understand, he did not live with, or not long at a time, viz., Sarah Parrin, *alias* Gregstone, who, I understand, is yet living; Judith Nun, by whom he had a daughter, who is now about ten years of age, and the mother also still living.

Besides those five, he married his sixth and last wife about seven years ago, and with whom he lived to the time of his execution; her maiden name was

Mary Brown, but when he took her to wife her name was Mary Dean, being the widow, or relict, of Skull Dean, a man of the trade who was executed for housebreaking, that is to say, for burglary, about the year 1716 or 1717. Some have taxed Jonathan with being instrumental to the execution of this Dean, her said first husband, that he might have the liberty to make court to his wife; but he denied it positively, and I see no room for such a reproach. I shall not reflect on his memory without good evidence.

The said Skull Dean, Mrs. Wild's first husband, was a very dexterous fellow in his calling, and particularly expert in breaking into houses. After he was condemned he got out of the prison, on pretence of going to the necessary-house, and being gotten quite clear for a little while, he made his way as far as Giltspur Street, towards Smithfield, but being pursued by the keepers, and having his fetters on, he could not go long undiscovered, so they overtook him and carried him back to prison.

This Mrs. Dean is his present apparent relict. She has had the mortification to have lost two husbands, and both hanged; and was so affected with the disaster of this last, that, as Jonathan himself declared a few days before his execution, she had twice attempted to destroy herself after she had the account of his receiving sentence of death.

He had no children by this sixth venture; but we are assured she has been an extraordinary wife to him on many accounts, and particularly in the way of his business, in which she could not be perfectly unacquainted, having had so extraordinary a husband before; though we do not find that Jonathan himself wanted any assistance, being, by this time, perfect master of his trade.

In the time of this wife, or on the marrying her,

he removed from his former lodging (a house in the Little Old Bailey, where his said wife had lived before), and took a house in the Great Old Bailey. and there he lived to the last; and in no mean figure neither, for his wife made a very good appearance; and as to Jonathan, he carried on a very flourishing business, as the town well knows.

He was now master of his trade; poor and rich flocked to him. If anything was lost (whether by negligence in the owner, or vigilance and dexterity in the thief), away we went to Jonathan Wild; nay, advertisements were published, directing the finder of almost everything to bring it to Jonathan Wild, who was eminently empowered to take it, and give the reward.

How infatuate were the people of this nation all this while! Did they consider, that at the very time that they treated this person with such a confidence, as if he had been appointed to the trade, he had, perhaps, the very goods in his keeping, waiting the advertisement for the reward, and that, perhaps, they had been stolen with that very intention?

It was not a little difficult to give his eminence his true title; he was, indeed, called a thief-catcher, and on some extraordinary occasions he was so, as in the case of Sheppard, Blueskin, and others. But this was no explanation of his business at all, for his profits came in another way, not in catching the thief, but, more properly, in catching (that is, biting) the persons robbed. As for the thief, it was not his business to catch him as long as he would be subjected to his rules — that is to say, as often as he had committed any robberies, to bring it to him, to be restored to the owner.

If the correspondence he kept was large, if the number of his instruments was very great, his dexterity in managing them was indeed wonderful;

and how cleverly he kept himself out of the reach of the Act for receiving stolen goods, mentioned above, is hardly to be imagined; and yet we find he was never charged home till now, notwithstanding so many felons who he exasperated to the last degree, and made desperate by falling upon them to their destruction.

It is true, the young generation of thieves, who, as we may say, lived under him, were always kept low and poor, and could not subsist but by the bounty of their governor; and when they had a booty of any bulk or value, they knew not what to do with it, but to deposit it, and get some money for the present use, and then have a little more upon its being disposed the right way.

For the managing this part he had his particular servants to take and receive, so that Jonathan received nothing, delivered nothing, nor could anything be fastened on him to his hurt, I mean for receiving stolen goods, and yet, as things stood, almost all the stolen goods were brought to him and put into his hands.

He openly kept his counting-house, or office, like a man of business, and had his books to enter everything in with the utmost exactness and regularity. When you first came to him to give him an account of anything lost, it was hinted to you that you must first deposit a crown; this was his retaining fee. Then you were asked some needful questions — that is to say, needful, not for his information, but for your amusement — as where you lived, where the goods were lost, whether out of your house or out of your pocket, or whether on the highway, and the like; and your answers to them all were minuted down, as if in order to make a proper search and inquiry; whereas, perhaps, the very thing you came to inquire after was in the very room where you

were, or not far off. After all this grimace was at an end, you were desired to call again or send in a day or two, and then you should know whether he was able to do you any service or no, and so you were dismissed.

At your second coming you had some encouragement given you, that you would be served, but, perhaps, the terms were a little raised upon you, and you were told the rogue that had it was impudent, and that he insisted it was worth so much, and he could sell it when he would for double the money you offered; and that if you would not give him such a sum, he would not treat with you. "However," says Jonathan, "if I can but come to the speech of him, I'll make him to be more reasonable."

The next time he tells you that all he can bring the rogue to is, that —— guineas being paid to the porter who shall bring the goods, and a promise upon honour that nothing shall be said to him, but just take and give, the gold watch, or the snuff-box, or whatever it is, shall be brought to you by such a time exactly; and thus, upon mutual assurances, the bargain is made for restoring the goods.

But then it remains to be asked, what Mr. Wild expects for his pains in managing this nice part; who answers, with an air of greatness, he leaves it to you; that he gets nothing by what is to be given the porter, that he is satisfied in being able to serve gentlemen in such a manner; so that it is in your breast to do what you think is handsome by Mr. Wild, who has taken a great deal of pains in it to do you a service.

It must be confessed that in all this, if there was no more than is mentioned, such a part might be acted on all sides without any guilt fastened anywhere but on the thief. For example, a house is robbed, or a lady has lost her gold watch. Jonathan,

by his intelligence among the gang, finds out who has done it — that is to say, he is told 't is such a one; 't is no matter how he hears it, he is not bound to the discovery upon a hearsay; nor is he obliged to prosecute a felony committed on he does not know who, by he knows not who — that's none of his business.

However, having a kind of knowledge of the person, he sends to him, to let him know that if he is his own friend, he will carry, that is, send, the watch, or the cane, or the snuff-box, so and so, to such a place; and that if he does so, and the porter receives ten guineas or more, or less, whatever it is that is offered, all will be well; if not, he adds a threatening that he will be prosecuted with the utmost severity.

Upon this, the thief sends the goods, has the money, and never sees Jonathan, nor any person else. What can Jonathan be charged with in such an affair as this? I must confess I do not see it; no, nor if the thief sends him a present of four or five guineas out of the money, provided, as he said, it is without any conditions made beforehand, or being present at the time 't is done.

Nor, on the other hand, does the treating for delivering the goods, as above, with a second or third person give any room to fix anything on Jonathan; so that, in short, he treats both with the thief and with the person robbed, with the utmost safety and security. Indeed, I do not see why he might not have carried on such a commerce as this with the greatest ease, I do not say honesty, in the world, if he had gone no farther; for he took none of your money for restoring your goods, neither did he restore you any goods; you gave him money, indeed, for his trouble in inquiring out the thief, and for using his interest by awing or persuading to get your

stolen goods sent you back, telling you what you must give to the porter that brings them, if you please, for he does not oblige you to give it.

But the danger lay on the other side of the question, namely, not being contented with what the person robbed gave upon the foot of a grateful acknowledgment for trouble; but impudently taking the goods of the thief, sending the porter himself, taking the money, and then capitulating with the thief for such a part of the reward, and then this thief coming in against him as a witness. This was the very case, in the fact, upon which Jonathan miscarried.

So that, in a word, Jonathan's avarice hanged him. It is true, in the case he was tried for, it was apparent that he set the robbery, as they express it; that is, he directed the persons to the place — nay, went with them to show them the shop, described the woman and the business; and after all, received the goods, and gave them the money for returning them, reserving it in his own power to take what more he pleased for himself; and at last all this was testified by the thieves themselves.

It is not to be doubted, but Jonathan, to carry on this commerce to such a height as he really had raised it, had a perfect understanding with all the professed thieves in the town; at least the young beginners, for these are a class generally more out of his power than others, and who are not so easily to be governed as the others are, and yet he finds ways to influence them, too, in the way of their practice. But the rest, I say, he had it in his reach to manage them as he thought fit — nay, he generally knew, or perhaps appointed them, the quarter they should walk in; so that, whenever any person came to inquire for his goods lost, he could make a tolerable guess at the thief, by the quarter of the

town you lived in, or where you were when you lost it.

I remember I had occasion, in a case of this kind, to wait upon Mr. Jonathan with a crown in my hand, as above, and having made a deposit, I was asked, as above, when the thing was lost? At first he smiled, and turning to one, I suppose, of his instruments, "Who can this be?" says he; "why, all our people are gone down to Stourbridge Fair." The other answered, after some pause, "I think I saw Lynx in the street yesterday." "Did you?" says he. "Then 't is that dog, I warrant you. Well sir," says he, "I believe we can find out your man; you shall know more of it if you will let me see you again a Monday;" this was on the Friday. When the Monday came, truly I was told they could not see the young rogue, and they believed he was gone after the rest to the fair, it being about the beginning of September.

After the fair I came again and again, but was put off from time to time, and could not at last be served in the case, it being only a silver-hilted sword, which the thief, it seems, had found means to turn into money, and then there was no coming at it; the time also having been lapsed by his honour having been gone to the fair.

Another person applying in another and more material affair, was treated with respect by Mr. Wild, and a pot of tea brought out in form (N.B., the crown being first deposited as usual). The case related to a gold watch with trinkets and some diamonds about the watch, and the lady offered very considerably for the restoring it, as I remember, £30, but no advertisements had been published. Mr. Wild, after the usual inquiries of when it was lost and where, and being told it was at St. Anne's Church, Westminster, pauses a while, and calls up a

servant, and asks aloud, "Where was M—ll K—g last Sunday?" "About Westminster," says the man, "but the b—h would not tell where." "Was she crank?" says Mr. Wild. "I don't know," says the fellow. However, turning to the lady, says he, "Madam, I fancy I shall be able to serve you, and perhaps for less money than your ladyship speaks of. If it be M—ll K—g, that woman I have in my thoughts, as I believe 't is, for she is a dexterous jade at the work, I 'll have her safe before morning." The lady, full of compassion, returns, "Oh sir, don't take her up; I assure you I won't prosecute. I 'll rather lose my watch than have any poor wretch hanged for it."

"Why, madam," says Mr. Wild, "we can't talk with her but by threatening. We must not make a bargain with her, that would be to compound a felony. If I can persuade her to come and bring your watch, and ask your pardon, will that satisfy you?" "Nay," says the lady, "I don't know whether that would be safe neither. If she will send it me I had rather; and I 'll forgive her without asking pardon." "Well, madam, will you take it, and give the porter that brings it twenty guineas, if you please, but not to oblige you to it?" "Whatever you say, Mr. Wild," says the lady. "Well, madam," says Mr. Wild, "if I may have the honour to see your ladyship again."

Lady. Will it not do if I send anybody?

Wild. Why, truly no, madam. People that deal in these things do not care for witnesses.

Lady. Well, well, that 's true. I 'll come myself. What day would you have me come?

Wild. On Thursday, madam.

Lady. Well, Mr. Wild, what must I do? What will satisfy you for your trouble?

Wild. It is time enough, madam, to speak of that

when I am sure I can do you any service. These creatures are very loose, and I can't tell you how it may be.

Lady. Well, Mr. Wild, I'll come furnished to pay my respects to you.

Wild. Madam, your most obedient servant (*waits on her to her coach*).

Accordingly, Thursday coming, the lady appears. Mr. Wild, in his callimanco night-gown (the same he was hanged in), receives her; and with a pleasant look tells her he is very glad to be able to say that he believes he shall serve her; that it was the same woman he suspected, and that the jade had already pawned the watch for some money, but that it was but a little, and he was glad she had.

Lady. Why, Mr. Wild?

Wild. Because, madam, if she had kept it all this while, it would have been ten to one that she had broke something about it, or done it some mischief.

Lady. That's true, indeed. Pray, what has she pawned it for?

Wild. Not much, madam; she has got but seven guineas upon it yet.

Lady. Well, Mr. Wild, what must be done?

Wild. Why, madam, if the people that have it bring it safe and sound to your ladyship, will you give me your honour that you will ask no questions, or stop the person that comes with it?

Lady. I promise you, on my word, I will not.

Wild. The man that brings it may be a poor, innocent fellow, that knows nothing of it.

Lady. Well, well, he shall have no harm or interruption from me.

Wild. Then I believe your ladyship may hear something of it to-night.

Lady. And what must I give him?

Wild. I don't yet know, madam, but I'll bring

them as low as I can. Not above twenty guineas, to be sure, madam.

Lady. That is very kind, indeed. Well, Mr. Wild, then I'll make it up to you (*so the lady pulls out her purse in order to give him some money*).

Wild. No, madam, not a farthing. Besides, you have not got your watch yet. Pray stay till you see whether the jade will perform; though I think, indeed, I am pretty sure of her.

Lady. Well, I'll take your word, Mr. Wild (*offers him money again*).

Wild. By no means, madam; let me see if I can serve you.

Lady. Well, Mr. Wild, if it must be so, I must come again, then.

Wild. It may be not. Will your ladyship be pleased to stay about half-an-hour?

Lady. Ay, with all my heart.

In about half-an-hour Jonathan having been called hastily out, comes in again immediately. "Madam," says he, "if your ladyship pleases to go into your coach, and drive gently up —— Street, perhaps a messenger may desire to speak with you as you go along."

"Very well, Mr. Wild, I understand you."

Upon the lady's going along —— Street, a ticket-porter, with his hat in his hand, shows himself by the coach-side, and the lady taking the hint, stops her coach, and lets down the glass, and speaking to the fellow, says, "Would you speak with me, friend?" The fellow says not a word, but delivers into her hand the watch, with all the trinkets and diamonds perfectly safe; and when she had looked upon it a little, gives her a note, wherein was written nothing, but thus in words at length — "Eighteen Guineas."

The lady immediately tells out the money to the porter, and he was going away. "Hold, honest

friend," says the lady, "there 's somewhat for yourself;" and gives him half-a-guinea, and so dismissed him.

A day or two after, she makes Mr. Wild a visit, and presents him with fifteen guineas more; but with great difficulty made him accept of it; telling her it was a great deal too much; that he would not take it by any means, but at last accepts it, with the ceremony of saying, he would not take it on account of the watch, but for having been at some trouble in serving her ladyship, in which she was pleased to reward him much more than he deserved; when, at the same time, 't was very likely he had part of the eighteen guineas, too, from M—ll K—g, who he frighted out of the watch with threatening to have her put into Newgate for stealing of it.

This may serve for a sketch of practice, as I call it, and to let the world see in what manner this secret service was carried on; how the thieving trade was managed, how the people were gulled out of their money, and how a crew of hell-born rogues and whores, which is much the same, have been bred up to the trade by their grand patron and master of art, Jonathan Wild. It would be endless to give a particular of the many tricks and cheats of this kind that he has managed during a continued life of wickedness for about sixteen years; among which it would be very instructing to give an account of the numbers of poor wretched creatures, like himself, who he, having first led them on in the road of crime for several years, as long as they would be subservient to him and put all their purchase into his hands, abandoned as soon as they offered to set up for themselves, and leaving them to the mercy of the Government, made himself the instrument of their destruction, and then pleaded the merit of it to the public. But these require a long history, rather

than a pamphlet, and therefore I wholly omit them.

It is time now to enter into a particular account of the conclusion of this life of crime; it has been a kind of comedy or a farce rather all along, but it proved a tragedy at last; and Jonathan, being brought to justice, has summed up his account here in a most ignominious end, satisfied now in a manner not uncommon only, but such as history cannot give one instance of the like, except lately, that of a murder at St. Edmunds-Bury, in Suffolk.

The sum of the matter is this, Jonathan had long been so notorious, and his practice, though not within the compass of the law, was yet in its nature so criminal in itself, and, above all, was so dangerous in its example, that the public began to be justly alarmed at it, and to consider of proper measures for putting a stop to it, [for] which purpose an Act of Parliament (the only remedy for growing evils of this kind) was passed the last session to make it felony to take or receive any reward for the restoring of any stolen goods, knowing them to be stolen. The clause in the said Act is as follows: —

"And whereas there are several persons who have secret acquaintance with felons, and who make it their business to help persons to their stolen goods, and by that means gain money from them, which is divided between them and the felons, whereby they greatly encourage such offenders: Be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that wherever any person taketh money or reward, directly or indirectly, under pretence or upon account of helping any person or persons to any stolen goods or chattels, every such person so taking money or reward as aforesaid (unless such person do apprehend, or cause to be apprehended, such felon who stole the same, and cause such felon to be brought to trial for the same,

and give evidence against him) shall be guilty of felony, and suffer the pains and penalties of felony, according to the nature of the felony committed in stealing such goods and chattels, in the manner and with such circumstances as if the same were stolen."

This Act was so directly aimed at Jonathan's general practice, that he could not be ignorant enough not to see it; but lest he should, a certain honourable person, too just to favour him, and yet too human not to warn him of his danger that he might avoid it, gave him notice that this very Act was made against his unlawful practice, and therefore in time warned him, in few but significant words, to take heed to himself, and avoid the consequences by leaving off the trade of thief-catching, as it is unjustly called — that is, of compounding for the return of stolen goods.

But good advice to Jonathan Wild was like talking gospel to a kettle-drum, bidding a dragoon not plunder, or talking of compassion to a hussar: he that was hardened above the baseness of all cautionary fear, scorned the advice, and went on in his wicked trade; not warily and wisely as he had formerly done, but, in short, with more impudence and shameless boldness than ever, as if he despised laws, and the governors, and the provoked justice of the nation. He now not only took rewards for returning goods stolen, but even directed the stealing of them; and making himself a party to the very robberies themselves, acted a part of the thief and the receiver also; and this in so many cases, that we are told if the indictment had failed for which he was justly condemned, there were several others ready to have been brought on, and the witnesses ready to have been produced for proof of the facts.

But one felony being fully proved was sufficient; and upon a full hearing he was convicted in so evi-

dent a manner, that he really had nothing to say in his own behalf, not being able to deny the fact; his counsel would have pleaded that the offence was not within the late statute upon which he was indicted, but the court answered them fully, and overruled the plea, so that being allowed to be within the statute, and the fact being fully proved by several witnesses, he received sentence of death the 15th of May last.

The circumstances of this fact seem to be so agreeable to the whole tenor of Jonathan's former practice, and so like other parts of his life, that we cannot but observe the parallel, and conclude the particular accounts of other parts of his life to be true likewise.

It has been said of him, that if ever he was moved to promote any man, or to help any man to business, which he often pretended to do in compassion to their poverty, that still he did it always in his own way — that is to say, endeavoured to make thieves of them, to bring them to be hanged to keep them from misery, and to make Newgate birds of them to keep them out of the Compters. This he practised principally upon young creatures and little destitute children, such as seemed to be left to wander about in want and beggary; and many a poor boy he has picked up in the street pretending charity, and a willingness to do them good, which, when it has come to the issue, has been no more or less than to breed them up to thieving, and ripen them for the devil.

But, which is still worse than all the rest, I have several stories by me at this time, which I have particular reasons to believe are true, of children thus strolling about the streets in misery and poverty, whom he has taken in on pretence of providing for them, and employing them, and all has ended in this, viz., making rogues of them. Horrid

wickedness! His charity has been to breed them up to be thieves; and still more horrid! several of these, his own foster-children, he has himself caused afterwards to be apprehended and hanged for the very crimes which he first taught them how to commit.

I am not, indeed, to make a jest of these things; there is something shocking and dismal in the very relation, and therefore it is that this account of the life of Jonathan Wild, which in its nature is all a tragedy, is not related with an air of banter and ridicule as others are. 'T is hoped it will not be the less acceptable to men of sense. It is a solemn and terrible thing to look back on a life of such hardened, abominable practices, to see it carried on in defiance, either of God or devil, and that with such success too, passing for so many years unpunished; and though there are some things in the long series of his wicked life which may relish with the levity of a droll way of writing, yet to see a man turned into an incarnate devil, his life a scene of inimitable crimes, his very society a hell, and equally devouring both to soul and body — he that can read it without some horror must have very little of what we call Christianity about him.

To see him take up an unthinking youth in the street, covered with dirt and rags, and willing on any terms to get out of his misery; to see this superlative wretch pretend charity to the child, and tell him he will provide for him, and thereby engage the lad to him as to a gentleman that intends to do him good, and then, instead of providing for him, lead him by the hand to hell-gates, and after that, like a true devil, thrust him in! First to tempt and then accuse, which is the very nature of the devil; first to make poor desolate vagabond boys thieves, and then betray them to the gallows! Who can

think of such a thing without a just abhorrence? who can think it to be any less than the worst sort of murder? Such was the life and such the practice of this wretched man, and in these very last scenes of his life he grew so audacious that it seemed as if he was really ripening up apace for his own destruction.

It is said of him in the case of that hardened fellow Blueskin, that he should say Jonathan first made him a thief, and then abandoning him, left him to carry it on by himself; and it being necessary to his (Jonathan's) fame to have always some chase in his view to build his own merit upon with the government, he kept a watch upon him, that he might at last bring him to the gallows, for which the said Blueskin was very near giving him a pass into the other world by that desperate attempt to cut his throat in the face of a court of justice; which Jonathan, though surprised at then, has had leisure since to wish had been effectually done at that time, and said so publicly in the Press-yard two days before his trial.

But to come then to the particular fact for which he suffered, the story as it was related upon oath at his trial, and the several circumstances belonging to it, stands thus: —

Katherine Stetham deposed that on the 22nd of January, between three and four in the afternoon, a man and woman came into her shop, under pretence of buying some lace. "They were," said she, "so very difficult that I had none below that would please them, and so, leaving my daughter in the shop, I stepped upstairs and brought down another box. We could not agree about the price, and so they went away together; and in about half-an-hour after I missed a tin box of lace, which I valued at fifty pounds. The same night and the next I went to Jonathan Wild's house; but not meeting with him, I advertised

the lace that I had lost, with a reward of fifteen guineas and no questions asked. But hearing nothing of it, I went to Jonathan's house again, and then met with him. He desired me to give him a description of the persons that I suspected, which I did as near as I could; and then he told me that he'd make inquiry, and bade me call again in two or three days. I did so, and then he said that he had heard something of my lace, and expected to know more of the matter in a little time. I came to him again on that day that he was apprehended (I think 'twas the 15th of February). I told him that though I had advertised but fifteen guineas reward, yet I'd give twenty or twenty-five rather than not have my goods. 'Don't be in such a hurry,' says he; 'I don't know but I may help you to it for less, and if I can I will. The persons that have it are gone out of town; I shall set them to quarrelling about it, and then I shall get it the cheaper.' On the 10th of March he sent me word that if I would come to him in Newgate, and bring ten guineas in my pocket, he could help me to the lace. I went. He desired me to call a porter, but I not knowing where to find one, he sent a person who brought one, that appeared to be a ticket-porter. The prisoner gave me a letter, which he said was sent him as a direction where to go for the lace; but I could not read, and so I delivered it to the porter. Then he desired me to give the porter the ten guineas, or else, he said, the persons that had the lace would not deliver it. I gave the porter the money; he went away, and in a little time returned, and brought me a box that was sealed up, but not the same that was lost. I opened it, and found all my lace but one piece. 'Now, Mr. Wild,' says I, 'what must you have for your trouble?' 'Not a farthing,' says he, 'not a farthing for me. I don't do these things for worldly interest, but only for the

good of poor people that have met with misfortunes. As for the piece of lace that is missing, I hope to get it for you ere long, and I don't know but I may help you not only to your money again but to the thief too; and if I can, much good may't do you. And as you are a good woman and a widow and a Christian, I desire nothing of you but your prayers, and for them I shall be thankful. I have a great many enemies, and God knows what may be the consequence of this imprisonment.'"

This is a black story indeed, and it was very remarkable that the fact was really committed, that is to say, the felony was contracted, or that part which the late Act in particular reached, viz., the delivering the goods and taking the money for discovering them; all this part was acted, I say, after his being committed to Newgate.

It was likewise very remarkable that there was another case much of the same nature which lay ready to have been brought to a hearing if this had not intervened, namely, of a pocket-book stolen from Mr. Tidman, a corn-chandler in Giltspur Street, near Newgate, in which was a bank bill for £116, in which the witnesses were two persons who had pleaded to their pardons.

We come now to his behaviour after his condemnation, and at the place of execution, at which last place he indeed scarce said a word to God or man, being either dozed with the liquid laudanum which he had taken, or demented and confused by the horror of what was before him, and the reflection of what was within him.

Nor even before he took the dose of laudanum was he in any suitable manner sensible of his condition, or concerned about it: very little sign appeared of his having the least hope concerning his future state; but as he lived hardened, he seemed to die stupid.

He declined coming to the chapel, either to the sermon or prayers, pleading his lameness by the gout, but chiefly the crowds and disorders of the people discomposing or disordering him. In the condemned hold, or place where malefactors are kept after their sentence, they had prayers as usual, and he seemed to join with them in a kind of form, but little or nothing of the penitence of a criminal in view of death appeared upon him.

His principal inquiries seemed to be about what kind of state was to be expected after death, and how the invisible world was to be described, but nothing of the most certain judgment which is there to be expected, righteous and terrible, according to the deeds done in the body, or of a Saviour to whom to have recourse, as the slayer in the old law had to the city of refuge to save him from the avenger of blood.

As his time shortened he seemed more and more confused, and then began to entertain discourses of the lawfulness of dismissing ourselves out of the present misery, after the example of the ancient Romans, which, as he said, was then esteemed as an act of bravery and gallantry, and recorded to their honour.

This kind of discourse was indeed sufficient to have caused the keepers to have had an eye to him, so as to prevent any violence he might offer to himself, and they did watch him as narrowly as they could; however, he so far deceived them as that the day before his execution he found means to have a small bottle with liquid laudanum conveyed to him unseen, of which he took so large a quantity that it was soon perceived by the change it made upon him, for he was so drowsy that he could not hold up his head or keep open his eyes at the time of reading the prayers.

Upon this, two of his fellow-prisoners endeavoured to rouse him (not suspecting that he had taken

enough to hurt him), and taking him by the hands, they persuaded him to stand up and walk a little about the room, which he could not do without help because of his gout.

This walking, though it did a little waken him, had several other operations at the same time: for first it changed his countenance, turning it to be exceeding pale; then it put him into a violent sweat, which made them apprehend he would faint; upon which they offered to give him something to keep up his spirits, but he refused it, telling them he was very sick; soon after which he vomited very violently, and this in all probability prolonged his life for the execution, for by their stirring him and making him vomit he brought up the greatest part of the laudanum which he had taken before it had been long enough in his stomach to mix with the animal spirits or blood, which if it had done but one hour more he would certainly have taken his last sleep in the prison.

But nature having thus discharged itself of the load, he revived again, and though still dozed and insensible of what he said or did, yet he was able to walk about, speak, and act sufficiently for the part that remained to him, namely, for the last scene of his life at the gallows.

Accordingly, on Monday the 24th of May, he was conveyed in a cart to Tyburn, and though it was apparent he was still under the operation of the laudanum, and that which was left in his stomach had so far seized upon his spirits as to make him almost stupid, yet it began to go off, and nature getting the mastery of it, he began to be more sensible of what he was going about; but the scene was then short, and he had little to do but to stand up in the cart, and the needful apparatus being made, be turned off with the rest, which was done about three o'clock in the afternoon.

The rudeness of the mob to him, both at his first going into the cart and all the way from thence to the place of execution, is not to be expressed, and shows how notorious his life had been, and what impression his known villainies had made on the minds of the people; for, contrary to the general behaviour of the street in such cases, instead of compassionate expressions and a general cast of pity which ordinarily sits on the countenances of the people when they see the miserable objects of justice go to their execution, here nothing was heard but cursings and execrations, abhorring the crimes and the very name of the man, throwing stones and dirt at him all the way, and even at the place of execution. The other malefactors being all ready to be turned off, but the hangman giving him leave to take his own time, and he continuing sitting down in the cart, the mob impatient, and fearing a reprieve, though they had no occasion for it, called furiously upon the hangman to despatch him, and at last threatened to tear him to pieces if he did not tie him up immediately.

In short, there was a kind of an universal rage against him, which nothing but his death could satisfy or put an end to, and if a reprieve had come, it would have, 't was thought, been difficult for the officers to have brought him back again without his receiving some mischief, if not his death's wound, from the rabble.

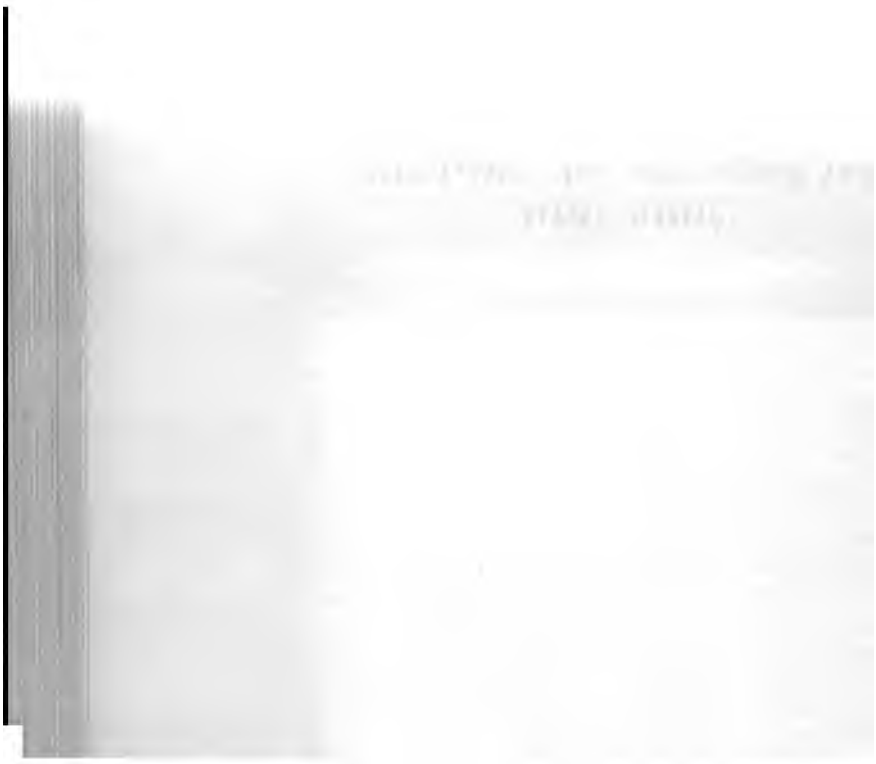
So detestable had he made himself by his notorious crimes, and to such a height were his wicked practices come.

Thus ended the tragedy, and thus was a life of horrid and inimitable wickedness finished at the gallows, the very same place where, according to some, above 120 miserable creatures had been hanged, whose blood, in great measure, may be said to lie at his door, either in their being first brought into the

thieving trade, or led on in it by his encouragement and assistance, and many of them at last betrayed and brought to justice by his means, upon which worst sort of murder he valued himself, and would have had it passed for merit, even with the government itself.

FINIS.

ADVENTURES OF CAPTAIN JOHN GOW



INTRODUCTION

THOUGH this Work seems principally to enter into the history of one man, namely, the late Captain John Gow, *alias* Smith, the leader or commander in the desperate and bloody actions for which he has been condemned; yet the share which several others had in the whole scene, and who acted in concert with him, comes so necessarily to be described and takes up so much room in the relation, that it may indeed be called the history of all the late pirates so far as they acted together in these wicked adventures.

Nor does the calling him (I mean this Gow, or Smith) their captain, denominate him anything deeper in the crime than the rest; for 't is eminently known that among such fellows as these, when once they have abandoned themselves to such a dreadful height of wickedness, there is so little government or subordination among them that they are, on occasion, all captains, all leaders. And though they generally put in this or that man to act as commander for this or that voyage or enterprise, they frequently remove them again upon the smallest occasion — nay, even without any occasion at all, but as humours and passions govern at those times. And this is done so often that I once knew a buccaneering pirate vessel, whose crew were upwards of seventy men, who, in one voyage, had so often changed, set up, and pulled down their captains and other officers, that above seven-and-forty of the

ship's company had, at several times, been in office of one kind or other; and among the rest they had, in particular, had thirteen captains. Now, however, it was not so here; yet it seems, even in this ship, Gow himself, though called captain, had not an absolute command, and was at one time so insulted by Lieutenant Williams because he declined attacking a French ship from Martinico, that it wanted but little of deposing him at that time, and murdering him too.

In this account, therefore, we shall have some relation of the conduct of the whole ship's crew, as well as of Captain Gow; nor will it, I hope, make the work the less agreeable to the reader, but the more so, by how much the greater variety of incidents will come in my way to speak of.

As to Gow himself, he was, indeed, a superlative, a capital rogue, and had been so even before he came to embark in this particular ship. And he is more than ordinarily remarkable for having formed the like design of going a-pirating when he served as boatswain on board an English merchant-ship, bound home from Lisbon to London, in which he formed a party to have seized on the captain and officers and to run away with the ship; when, no doubt, had he accomplished his work, the said captain and officers had run the same fate as those did we are now to mention.

This I am so ascertained of the truth of, that the captain himself is ready to attest it, to whom it was afterwards discovered, that he, Gow, had made four of the seamen acquainted with his bloody design, and had gained them over to it; but not being able to draw in any more, and not being strong enough with these who he had so debauched, they did not make their attempt.

This, it seems, was not discovered to the captain

till after the ship was discharged in the port of London, and the men paid off and dismissed, when information being given, the said captain endeavoured to have apprehended Gow and his accomplices; but having, as 't was supposed, gotten some notice of the design, made off and shifted for themselves as well as they could, in which it was his lot to go over to Holland.

Here it was, viz., at Amsterdam, that Gow shipped himself afore the mast, as the seamen called it — that is to say, as a common sailor, on board an English ship of 200 tons burden, called the *George* galley. He shipped himself at first, as I have said, afore the mast; but afterwards, which added to the great misfortune, appearing to be an active, skilful sailor, he obtained the favour of being made second mate. The ship was commanded by one Oliver Ferneau, a Frenchman, but a subject of Great Britain, being of the island of Guernsey, to which also did the ship belong, but was then in the service of the merchants of Amsterdam.

Captain Ferneau, being a man of reputation among the merchants of Amsterdam, got a voyage for his ship from thence to Santa Cruz, on the coast of Barbary, to load beeswax, and to carry it to Genoa, which was his delivering port; and as the Dutch, having war with the Turks of Algiers, were willing to employ him as an English ship, so he was as willing to be manned with English seamen; and accordingly, among the rest, he unhappily took on board this Gow with his wretched gang, such as Macaulay, Melvin, Williams, and others; but not being able to man themselves wholly with English or Scotch, they were obliged to take some Swedes and other seamen to make up his complement, which was twenty-three in all. Among the latter sort one was named Winter, and another Petersen, both of them

Swedes by nation, but as wicked, too, as Gow and his other fellows were. They sailed from the Texel in the month of August, 1724, and arrived at Santa Cruz on the 2nd of September following, where, having a supercargo on board who took charge of the loading and four chests of money to purchase it, they soon got the beeswax on board, and on the 3rd of November they appointed to set sail to pursue the voyage.

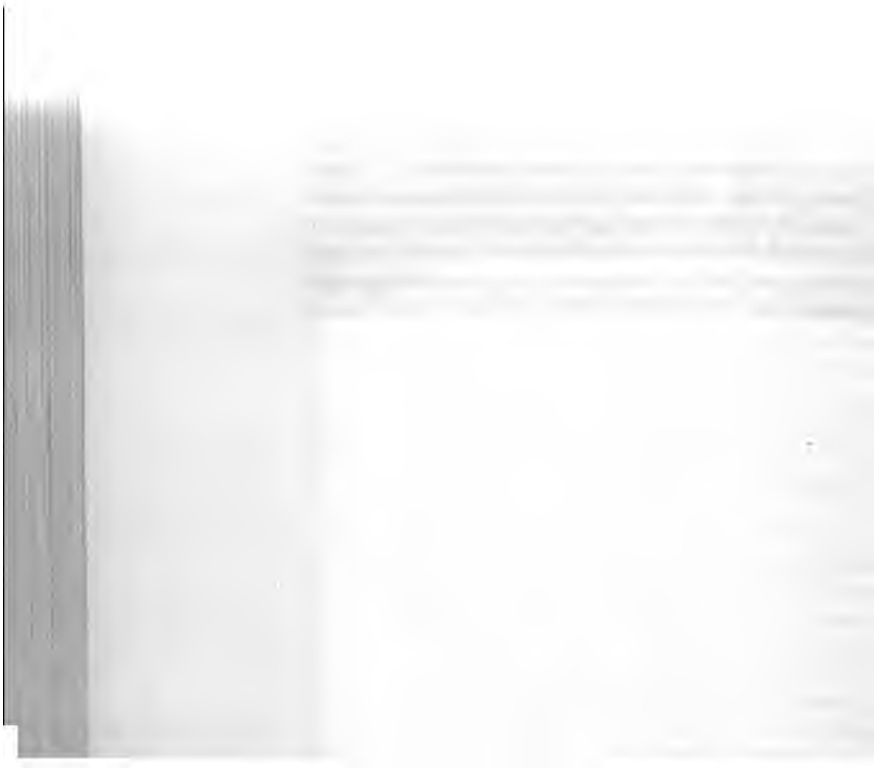
Thus much seems, however, proper to signify to the world before they enter into the rest of Gow's story, because 't is evident from hence that the late barbarous and inhuman action was not the effect of a sudden fury raised in the minds of the whole company by the ill usage they had received from Captain Ferneau in the matter of their provisions, or from their having overheard the said Ferneau threaten them when he spoke to the mate upon the quarter-deck to get small arms into the great cabin, which they might suppose was in order to seize on them and bring them to correction, and so, in their heat of blood, might run them up to such a height of rage as to commit the murders which they did not intend before.

But 't is evident that this Gow in particular, whatever the rest might have done, had entertained this bloody resolution in general (I mean of turning pirate) long before this voyage; he had endeavoured to put it in practice, at least once before, namely, in the ship (mentioned above) bound from Lisbon for London, and had only failed for want of being able to bring over a sufficient gang of rogues to his party. Whether he had not had the same design in his head long before, that we do not know; but it seems he had not been able to bring it to pass till now, when finding some little discontent among the men on account of their provisions, he was made the devil's

instrument to run up those discontents to such a dreadful height of fury and rage as we shall find they did.

And this justly entitles Gow to the charge of being the principal, as well author as agent, in the tragedy that followed. Nor does it at all take off the charge that Winter and Petersen began the mutinous language towards the captain.

The design must certainly have been laid among them before; how else should so many of them so easily form such a wicked scheme in the few minutes they had to talk together? Gow therefore is, I say, justly charged as author of all the wicked conclusions among them, and as having formed a resolution in his own mind to turn pirate the first time he had an opportunity, whatever ship or whatever voyage he went upon.



ADVENTURES OF CAPTAIN JOHN GOW

THE following account being chiefly confined to the conduct of this outrageous pirate, Captain Gow, after his having actually turned pirate, in this particular ship, the *George* galley, we must content ourselves with beginning where he began — that is to say, when they seized the captain, murdered him and his men, and ran away with the ship on the coast of Barbary, in the Mediterranean Sea.

It was the 3rd of November, anno 1724, when, as has been observed, the ship having lain two months in the road at Santa Cruz, taking in her lading, the captain made preparations to put to sea; and the usual signals for sailing having been given, some of the merchants from on shore, who had been concerned in furnishing the cargo, came on board in the forenoon to take their leave of the captain, and wish him a good voyage, as is usual on such occasions.

Whether it was concerted by the whole gang beforehand, we know not; but while the captain was treating and entertaining the merchants under the awning upon the quarter-deck, as is the custom in those hot countries, three of the seamen, viz., Winter and Petersen, two Swedes, and Macaulay, a Scotchman, came rudely upon the quarter-deck, and as if they took that opportunity because the merchants were present, believing the captain would not use any violence with them in the presence of the merchants, they made a long complaint of their ill

usage, and particularly of their provisions and allowance, as they said, being not sufficient, nor such as was ordinarily made in other merchant-ships; seeming to load the captain, Monsieur Ferneau, with being the occasion of it, and that he did it for his private gain; which, however, had not been true if the fact had been true, the overplus of provisions, if the stores had been more than sufficient, belonging to the owners, not to the captain, at the end of the voyage; there being also a steward on board to take the account.

In their making this complaint they seemed to direct their speech to the merchants, as well as to the captain, as if they had been concerned in the ship, which they were not; or as if desiring them to intercede for them with the captain, that they might have redress, and might have a better allowance.

The captain was highly provoked at this rudeness, as, indeed, he had reason, it being a double affront to him, as it was done in the view of the merchants who were come on board to him and to do him an honour at parting. However, he restrained his passion, and gave them not the least angry word, only that if they were aggrieved, they had no more to do but to have let him know it; that if they were ill-used, it was not by his order; that he would inquire into it, and that if anything was amiss, it should be rectified; with which the seamen withdrew, seeming well satisfied with his answer.

About five the same evening they unmoored the ship, and hove short upon their best bower anchor, expecting the land breeze, as is usual on that coast, to carry them out to sea; but, instead of that, it fell stark calm, and the captain fearing the ship should fall foul of her own anchor, ordered the mizzen-topsail to be furled.

Petersen, one of the malcontent seamen, being the

nearest man at hand, seemed to go about it, but moved so carelessly and heavily that it appeared plainly he did not care whether it was done or no, and particularly as if he had a mind the captain should see it and take notice of it; and the captain did so, for perceiving how awkwardly he went about it, he spoke a little tartly to him, and asked him what was the reason he did not stir a little and furl the sail.

Petersen, as if he waited for the question, answered in a surly tone, and with a kind of disdain, "So as we eat so shall we work." This he spoke aloud, so as that he might be sure the captain should hear him, and the rest of the men also; and 't was evident that as he spoke in the plural number we, so he spoke their minds as well as his own, and words which they had all agreed to before.

The captain, however, though he heard plain enough what he said, took not the least notice of it, or gave him the least room to believe he had heard him, being not willing to begin a quarrel with the men, and knowing that if he took any notice at all of it he must resent it, and punish it too.

Soon after this the calm went off, and the land breeze sprung up, as is usual on that coast, and they immediately weighed and stood off to sea; but the captain having had those two wrestles with his men, just at their putting to sea, was very uneasy in his mind, as, indeed, he had reason to be; and the same evening, soon after they were under sail, the mate being walking on the quarter-deck, he went, and taking two or three turns with him, told him how he had been used by the men, particularly how they affronted him before the merchants, and what an answer Petersen had given him on the quarter-deck when he ordered him to furl the mizzen-topsail.

The mate was surprised at the thing as well as the

captain, and after some other discourse about it, in which 't was their unhappiness not to be so private as they ought to have been in a case of such importance, the captain told him he thought it was absolutely necessary to have a quantity of small arms brought immediately into the great cabin, not only to defend themselves if there should be occasion, but also that he might be in a posture to correct those fellows for their insolence, especially if he should meet with any more of it. The mate agreed that it was necessary to be done, and had they said no more, and said this more privately, all had been well, and the wicked design had been much more difficult, if not the execution of it effectually prevented.

But two mistakes in this part was the ruin of them all: (1) that the captain spoke it without due caution, so that Winter and Petersen, the two principal malcontents, and who were expressly mentioned by the captain to be corrected, overheard it, and knew by that means what they had to expect if they did not immediately bestir themselves to prevent it. (2) The other mistake was that when the captain and mate agreed that it was necessary to have the arms got ready and brought into the great cabin, the captain unhappily bade him go immediately to Gow, the second mate and gunner, and give him orders to get the arms cleared and loaded for him, and so to bring them up to the great cabin, which was, in short, to tell the conspirators that the captain was preparing to be too strong for them if they did not fall to work with him immediately.

Winter and Petersen went immediately forward, where they knew the rest of the mutineers were, and to whom they communicated what they had heard; telling them that it was time to provide for their own safety, for otherwise their destruction was resolved on, and the captain would soon be in

such a posture that there would be no meddling with him.

While they were thus consulting at first, as they said, only for their own safety, Gow and Williams came in to them, with some others, to the number of eight; and no sooner were they joined by these two, but they fell downright to the point which Gow had so long formed in his mind, viz., to seize upon the captain and mate, and all those that they could not bring to join with them — in short, to throw them into the sea, and to go upon the account.

All those who are acquainted with the sea language know the meaning of that expression, and that it is, in few words, to run away with the ship and turn pirates.

Villainous designs are soonest concluded. As they had but little time to consult upon what measures they should take, so a very little consultation served for what was before them, and they came to this short but hellish resolution, viz., that they would immediately, that very night, murder the captain, and such others as they named, and afterwards proceed with the ship as they should see cause. And here it is to be observed that though Winter and Petersen were in the first proposal, namely, to prevent their being brought to correction by the captain, yet Gow and Williams were the principal advisers in the bloody part, which, however, the rest soon came into; for, as I said before, as they had but little time to resolve it, so they had but very little debate about it; but what was first proposed was forthwith engaged in and consented to.

Besides, it must not be omitted that, as I have said, upon good grounds, that Gow had always had the wicked game of pirating in his head, and that he had attempted it, or rather tried to attempt it, before, but was not able to bring it to pass, so he had,

and Williams also had several times, even in this very voyage, dropped some hints of this vile design, as they thought there was room for it; and touched two or three times at what a noble opportunity they had of enriching themselves, and making their fortunes, as they wickedly called it. This was when they had the four chests of money on board; and Williams made it a kind of a jest in his discourse how easily they might carry it off, ship and all. But as they did not find themselves seconded, or that any of the men showed themselves in favour of such a thing, but rather spoke of it with abhorrence, they passed it over as a kind of discourse that had nothing at all in it, except that one of the men, viz., the surgeon, took them up, in short, once for so much as mentioning such a thing, told them the thought was criminal, and it ought not to be spoken of among them; which reproof, 't was supposed, cost him his life afterwards.

As Gow and his comrade had thus started the thing at a distance before, though it was then without success, yet they had the less to do now, when other discontents had raised a secret fire in the breasts of the men; for now being, as it were, mad and desperate with apprehensions of their being to be severely punished by the captain, they wanted no persuasions to come into the most wicked undertaking that the devil or any of his agents could propose to them. Nor do we find that upon any of their examinations they pretended to have made any scruples of, or objections against, the cruelty of the bloody attempt that was to be made, but came into it at once, and resolved to put it in execution immediately, that is to say, the very same evening.

It was the captain's constant custom to call all the ship's company every night at eight o'clock, into the great cabin to prayers; and then the watch being set, one watch went upon deck, and the other turned in (as

the seamen call it), that is, went to their hammocks to sleep; and here they concerted their devilish plot. It was the turn of five of the conspirators to go to sleep, and of these Gow and Williams were two; the three who were to be upon the deck were Winter, Rowlinson, and Melvin, a Scotchman.

The persons they had immediately designed for destruction were four, viz., the captain, the mate, the supercargo, and the surgeon, whereof all but the captain were gone to sleep, the captain himself being upon the quarter-deck.

Between nine and ten at night, all being quiet and secure, and the poor gentlemen that were to be murdered fast asleep, the villains that were below gave the watchword, which was, "Who fires next?" at which they all got out of their hammocks with as little noise as they could, and going in the dark to the hammocks of the chief mate, supercargo, and surgeon, they cut all their throats. The surgeon's throat was cut so effectually that he could struggle very little with them, but leaping out of his hammock, ran up to get upon the deck, holding his hand upon his throat, but stumbled at the tiller, and falling down, had no breath, and consequently no strength to raise himself, but died where he lay.

The mate, whose throat was cut, but not his windpipe, had struggled so vigorously with the villain that attempted him that he got from him and got into the hold; and the supercargo, in the same condition, got forward between decks under some deals, and both of them begged with the most moving cries and entreaties for their lives; and when nothing could prevail, they begged with the same earnestness but for a few moments to pray to God and recommend their souls to His mercy; but alike in vain, for the wretched murderers, heated with blood, were past all pity; and not being able to come at them

with their knives, with which they had begun the execution, they shot them with their pistols, firing several times upon each of them till they found they were quite dead.

As all this, before the firings, could not be done without some noise, the captain, who was walking alone upon the quarter-deck, called out and asked what was the matter. The boatswain, who sat on the after-bits, and was not of the party, answered he could not tell, but was afraid there was somebody overboard; upon which the captain stepped towards the ship's side to look over, when Winter, Rowlinson, and Melvin, coming that moment behind him, attempted to throw him overboard into the sea; but he being a nimble, strong man, got hold of the shrouds, and struggled so hard with them that they could not break his hold; but turning his head to look behind him to see who he had to deal with, one of them cut his throat with a broad Dutch knife, but neither was that wound mortal. And the captain still struggled with them, though seeing he should undoubtedly be murdered, he constantly cried out to God for mercy, for he found there was no mercy to be expected from them. During this struggle another of the murderers stabbed him with a knife in the back, and that with such force that the villain could not draw the knife out again to repeat his blow, which he would otherwise have done.

At this moment Gow came up from the butchery he had been at between decks, and seeing the captain still alive, he went close up to him and shot him, as he confessed, with a brace of bullets.

What part he shot him into could not be known, though they said he shot him into the head. However, he had yet life enough, though they threw him overboard, to take hold of a rope, and would still have saved himself, but they cut that rope, and he fell

into the sea, and was seen no more. Thus they finished the tragedy, having murdered four of the principal men of command in the ship, so that there was now nobody to oppose them; for Gow being second mate and gunner, the command fell to him, of course, and the rest of the men having no arms ready, nor knowing how to get at any, were in the utmost consternation, expecting they would go on with the work and cut all their throats.

In this fright every one shifted for himself. As for those who were upon deck, some got into the ship's head, resolving to throw themselves into the sea rather than to be mangled with knives and murdered in cold blood, as the captain and mate, &c., had been. Those who were below, not knowing what to do, or whose turn it should be next, lay still in their hammocks, expecting death every moment, and not daring to stir, lest the villains should think they did it in order to make resistance, which, however, they were no way capable of doing, having no concert one with another, nor knowing anything in particular of one another, as who was alive or who was dead; whereas had the captain, who was himself a bold and stout man, been in his great cabin with three or four men with him, and his firearms, as he intended to have had, those eight fellows had never been able to have done their work; but every man was taken unprovided, and in the utmost surprise, so that the murderers met with no resistance. And as for those that were left, they were less able to make resistance than the other; so that, as I have said, they were in the utmost terror and amazement, expecting every minute to be murdered as the rest had been.

But the villains had done. The persons who had any command were despatched, so they cooled a little as to blood. The first thing they did after-

ward was to call up all the eight upon the quarter-deck, where they congratulated one another, and shook hands together, engaging to proceed, by unanimous consent, in their resolved design, that is to say, of turning pirates, in order to which they, with a *nem. con.*, chose Gow to command the ship, promising all subjection and obedience to his orders (so that now we must call him Captain Gow), and he, by the same consent of the rest, named Williams to be his lieutenant. Other officers they appointed afterwards.

The first order they issued was to let all the rest of the men know that if they continued quiet, and offered not to meddle with any of their affairs, they should receive no hurt; but strictly forbid any man among them to set a foot abaft the mainmast, except they were called to the helm, upon pain of being immediately cut in pieces, keeping, for that purpose, one man at the steerage-door, and one upon the quarter-deck, with drawn cutlasses in their hands; but there was no need for it, for the men were so terrified with the bloody doings they had seen that they never offered to come in sight till they were called.

Their next work was to throw the three dead bodies of the mate, the surgeon, and the supercargo overboard, which, they said, lay in their way, and that was soon done, their pockets first searched and rifled. From thence they went to work with the great cabin and with all the lockers, chests, boxes, and trunks. These they broke open and rifled, that is, such of them as belonged to the murdered persons; and whatever they found there they shared among themselves. When they had done this they called for liquor, and sat down to drinking till morning, leaving the men, as above, to keep guard, and particularly to guard the arms, but relieved

them from time to time as they saw occasion. By this time they had drawn in four more of the men to approve of what they had done, and promise to join with them, so that now they were twelve in number, and being but twenty-four at first, whereof four were murdered, they had but eight men to be apprehensive of, and those they could easily look after; so for the next day they sent for them all to appear before their new captain, where they were told by Gow what his resolution was, viz., to go a-cruising, or to go upon the account, as above; that if they were willing to join with them, and go into their measures, they should be well used, and there should be no distinction among them, but they should all fare alike; that they had been forced by the barbarous usage of Ferneau to do what they had done, but that now there was no looking back, and therefore, as they had not been concerned in what was past, they had nothing to do but to act in concert, do their duty as sailors, and obey orders for the good of the ship, and no harm should he do to any of them. As they all looked like condemned prisoners brought up to the bar to receive sentence of death, so they all answered by a profound silence; not one word being said by any of them, which Gow took as they meant it, viz., for a consent, because they durst not refuse; so they were then permitted to go up and down everywhere as they used to do. Though such of them as sometimes afterwards showed any reluctance to act as principals were never trusted, always suspected, and often severely beaten, and some of them were many ways inhumanly treated, and that particularly by Williams, the lieutenant, who was in his nature a merciless, cruel, and inexorable wretch, as we shall have occasion to take notice of again in its place.

They were now in a new circumstance of life, and acting upon a different stage of business, though upon

the same stage as to the element, the water; before they were a merchant-ship, loaden upon a good account with merchant goods from the coast of Barbary, and bound to the coast of Italy; but they were now a crew of pirates, or, as they call them in the Levant, corsairs, bound nowhere, but to look out for purchase and spoil wherever they could find it.

In pursuit of this wicked trade they first changed the name of the ship, which was before called the *George* galley, and which they call now the *Revenge*, a name indeed suitable to the bloody steps they had taken. In the next place, they made the best of the ship's forces. The ship had but twelve guns mounted when they came out of Holland; but as they had six more good guns in the hold, with carriages and everything proper for service (which they had in store, because being freighted for the Dutch merchants, and the Algerines being at war with the Dutch, they supposed they might want them for defence), now they took care to mount them for a much worse design; so that now they had eighteen guns, though too many for the number of hands they had on board.

In the third place, instead of pursuing their voyage to Genoa with the ship's cargo, they took a clear contrary course, and resolved to station themselves upon the coasts of Spain and Portugal, and to cruise upon all nations; but what they chiefly aimed at was a ship with wine, if possible, for that they wanted extremely.

The first prize they took was an English sloop belonging to Poole, Thomas Wise, commander, bound from Newfoundland with fish for Cadiz. This was a prize of no value to them, for they knew not what to do with the fish; so they took out the master, Mr. Wise, and his men, who were but five in number, with their anchors, and cables, and sails, and what

else they found worth taking out, and sunk the vessel.

N.B. — Here, it is to be observed, they found a man very fit for their turn, one James Belvin. He was boatswain of the sloop, a stout, brisk fellow, and a very good sailor, but otherways wicked enough to suit with their occasion, and as soon as he came among them he discovered it; for though he was not in the first bloody contrivance, nor in the terrible execution of which I have given a relation, that is to say, he was not guilty of running away with the ship *George* galley, nor of murdering the four innocent men, which we have given an account of above, yet 't is evident he joined heartily in all the villainies which followed. And, indeed, this man's fate is a just and needful caution to all those sailors who, being taken in other ships by the pirates, think that is a sufficient plea for them to act as real pirates afterwards; and that the plea or pretence of being forced, will be a sufficient protection to them, however guilty they may have been afterward, and however volunteer they may have acted when they came among the pirates.

Doubtless 't is possible for a man to prove a hearty rogue after he is forced into the service of the pirates, however honest he was before, and however undesignedly or against his consent he at first came among them. Therefore those who expect to be acquitted in a court of justice afterward on pretence of their being at first forced into the company of rogues, must take care not to act anything in concert with them while they are embarked together, but what they really cannot avoid, and are apparently under a constraint in the doing.

But this man, 't was plain, acted a quite different part; for after he took on with them, he took all occasions to engage their confidence, and to convince

them that he was hearty in his joining them. In a word, he was the most active and vigorous fellow of any that were, as it may be said, forced into their service; for many of the others, though they acted with them, and were apparently assisting, yet there was always a kind of backwardness and disgust at the villainy, for which they were often maltreated, and always suspected by their masters.

The next prize they took was a Scotch vessel, bound from Glasgow, with herrings and salmon, from thence to Genoa, and commanded by one Mr. John Somerville, of Port Patrick. This vessel was likewise of very little value to them, except that they took out, as they had done from the other, their arms, ammunition, clothes, provisions, sails, anchors, cables, &c., and everything of value, and therefore they sunk her too, as they had done the sloop. The reason they gave for sinking these two vessels was to prevent their being discovered; for as they were now cruising on the coast of Portugal, had they let the ships have gone with several of their men on board, they would presently have stood in for the shore, and have given the alarm, and the men-of-war, of which there were several, as well Dutch as English, in the river of Lisbon, would presently have put out to sea in quest of them; and they were very unwilling to leave the coast of Portugal till they had got a ship with wine, which they very much wanted.

They cruised eight or ten days after this without seeing so much as one vessel upon the seas, and were just resolving to stand more to the northward, to the coast of Galicia, when they descried a sail to the southward, being a ship about as big as their own, though they could not perceive what force she had. However, they gave chase, and the vessel perceiving it, crowded from them with all the

sail they could make, hoisting up French colours, and standing away to the southward.

They continued the chase three days and three nights, and though they did not gain much upon her, the Frenchman sailing very well, yet they kept her in sight all the while, and for the most part within gunshot. But the third night, the weather proving a little hazy, the Frenchman changed his course in the night, and so got clear of them, and good reason they had to bless themselves in the escape they had made, if they had but known what a dreadful crew of rogues they had fallen among if they had been taken.

They were now gotten a long way to the southward, and being greatly disappointed, and in want of water as well as wine, they resolved to stand away for the Madeiras, which they knew was not far off, so they accordingly made the island in two days more, and keeping a large offing, they cruised for three or four days more, expecting to meet with some Portuguese vessel going in or coming out; but 't was in vain, for nothing stirred. So, tired with expecting, they stood in for the road, and came to an anchor, though at a great distance; then they sent their boat towards the shore with seven men, all well armed, to see whether it might not be practicable to board one of the ships in the road, and cutting her away from her anchors, bring her off; or if they found that could not be done, then their orders were to intercept some of the boats belonging to the place which carry wines off on board the ships in the road, or from one place to another on the coast; but they came back again disappointed in both, everybody being alarmed and aware of them, knowing by their posture what they were.

Having thus spent several days to no purpose, and finding themselves discovered (at length being appar-

ently under a necessity to make an attempt somewhere), they stood away for Porto Santa, about ten leagues to the windward of Madeiras, and belonging also to the Portuguese. Here putting up British colours, they sent their boat ashore with Captain Somerville's bill of health, and a present to the governor of three barrels of salmon and six barrels of herrings, and a very civil message, desiring leave to water, and to buy some refreshments, pretending to be bound to ——.

The governor very courteously granted their desire, but with more courtesy than discretion went off himself, with about nine or ten of his principal people, to pay the English captain a visit, little thinking what a kind of a captain it was they were going to compliment, and what price it might have cost them.

However, Gow, handsomely dressed, received them with some ceremony, and entertained them tolerably well for a while; but the governor having been kept by civility as [long as] they could, and the refreshments from the shore not appearing, he was forced to unmask; and when the governor and his company rose up to take their leave, they were, to their great surprise, suddenly surrounded with a gang of fellows with muskets and an officer at the head of them, who told them, in so many words, they were the captain's prisoners, and must not think of going on shore any more till the water and provisions which were promised should come on board.

It is impossible to conceive the consternation and surprise the Portuguese gentry were in, nor is it very decently to be expressed; the poor governor was so much more than half dead with the fright that he really befouled himself in a piteous manner, and the rest were in no much better condition. They trembled, cried, begged, crossed themselves, and said

their prayers as men going to execution; but 't was all one. They were told flatly the captain was not to be trifled with, that the ship was in want of provisions, and they would have them, or they would carry them all away. They were, however, well enough treated, except the restraint of their persons, and were often asked to refresh themselves, but they would neither eat or drink any more all the while they stayed on board, which was till the next day in the evening, when to their great satisfaction they saw a great boat come off from the fort, and which came directly on board with seven butts of water, and a cow and a calf, and a good number of fowls.

When the boat came on board, and had delivered the stores, Captain Gow complimented the governor and his gentlemen, and discharged them to their great joy; and besides discharging them, he gave them, in return for the provisions they brought, two ceroons of beeswax, and fired them three guns at their going away. I suppose, however, they will have a care how they go on board of any ship again in compliment to their captain, unless they are very sure who they are.

Having had no better success in this out-of-the-way run to the Madeiras, they resolved to make the best of their way back again to the coast of Spain or Portugal. They accordingly left Porto Santa the next morning, with a fair wind, standing directly for Cape St. Vincent or the Southward Cape.

They had not been upon the coast of Spain above two or three days before they met with a New England ship, —— Cross, commander, laden with staves, and bound for Lisbon, and being to load there with wine for London. This was a prize also of no value to them, and they began to be very much discouraged with their bad fortune. However, they took out Captain Cross and his men, which were

seven or eight in number, with most of the provisions and some of the sails, and gave the ship to Captain Wise, the poor man who they took at first in a sloop from Newfoundland; and in order to pay Wise and his men for what he took from them, and make them satisfaction, as he called it, he gave to Captain Wise and his mate twenty-four ceroons of beeswax, and to each of his men, who were four in number, two ceroons of wax each. Thus he pretended honestly, and to make reparation of damages by giving them the goods which he had robbed the Dutch merchants of, whose supercargo he had murdered.

After this, cruising some days off the bay, they met with a French ship from Cadiz, laden with wine, oil, and fruit. This was in some respect the very thing they wanted; so they manned her with their own men and stood off to sea, that they might divide the spoil of her with more safety, for they were too near the land.

And first they took out the French master and all his men, which were twelve in number; then they shifted great part of the cargo, especially of the wine, with some oil and a large quantity of almonds, out of the French ship into their own; with five of his best guns and their carriages, all their ammunition and small arms, and all the best of their sails, and then he gave that ship to Captain Somerville, the Glasgow captain, whose ship they had sunk, and to Captain Cross, the New England captain, who they had taken but just before; and to do justice, as they called it, here also, they gave half the ship and cargo to Somerville, one quarter to his mate, and the other quarter to Captain Cross, and sixteen ceroons of wax to the men to be shared among them.

It is to be observed here that Captain Somerville carried all his men along with him, except one who chose to enter among the pirates, so that he could

never pretend he was forced into their service; but Cross's men were all detained, whether by force or by their own consent does not appear at present.

The day before this division of the spoil they saw a large ship to windward, which at first put them into some surprise, for she came bearing down directly upon them, and they thought she had been a Portuguese man-of-war; but they found soon after that it was a merchant-ship, had French colours, and bound home, as they supposed, from the West Indies; and it was so, for, as we afterwards learned, she was loaded at Martinico, and bound for Rochelle.

The Frenchman, not fearing them, came on large to the wind, being a ship of much greater force than Gow's ship, and carrying thirty-two guns and eighty men, besides a great many passengers. However, Gow at first made as if he would lie by for them; but seeing plainly what a ship it was, and that they should have their hands full of her, he began to consider, and calling his men all together upon the deck, told them his mind — viz., that the Frenchman was apparently superior in force every way, that they were but ill manned, and had a great many prisoners on board, and that some of their own people were not very well to be trusted; that six of their best hands were on board the prize, and that all they had left were not sufficient to ply their guns and stand by the sails; and that therefore, as they were under no necessity to engage, so he thought it would be next to madness to think of it, the French ship being so very much superior to them in force.

The generality of the men were of Gow's mind, and agreed to decline the fight; but Williams, his lieutenant, strenuously opposed it, and being not to be appeased by all that Gow could say to him, or any one else, flew out in a rage at Gow, upbraiding

him with being a coward, and not fit to command a ship of force.

The truth is, Gow's reasoning was good, and the thing was just, considering their own condition. But Williams was a fellow uncapable of any solid thinking, had a kind of a savage, brutal courage, but nothing of true bravery in him; and this made him the most desperate and outrageous villain in the world, and the most cruel and inhuman to those whose disaster it was to fall into his hands, as had frequently appeared in his usage of the prisoners under his power in this very voyage.

Gow was a man of temper, and notwithstanding all ill language Williams gave him, said little or nothing, but by way of argument against attacking the French ship, which would certainly have been too strong for them. But this provoked Williams the more, and he grew to such an extravagant height, that he demanded boldly of Gow to give his orders for fighting, which Gow declined still. Williams presented his pistol at him, and snapped it, but it did not go off, which enraged him the more.

Winter and Petersen, standing nearest to Williams, and seeing him so furious, flew at him immediately, and each of them fired a pistol at him; one shot him through the arm, and the other into his belly, at which he fell, and the men about him laid hold of him to throw him overboard, believing he was dead; but as they lifted him up he started violently out of their hands, and leaped directly into the hold, and from thence ran desperately into the powder-room, with his pistol cocked in his hand, swearing he would blow them all up; and had certainly done it if they had not seized him just as he had gotten the scuttle open, and was that moment going in to put his hellish resolution in practice.

Having thus secured the demented, raving creature, they carried him forward to the place which they had made on purpose, between decks, to secure their prisoners, and put him in amongst them, having first loaded him with irons, and particularly handcuffed him with his hands behind him, to the great satisfaction of the other prisoners, who, knowing what a butcherly, furious fellow he was, were terrified to the last degree to see him come in among them, till they saw the condition he came in. He was, indeed, the terror of all the prisoners, for he usually treated them in a barbarous manner, without the least provocation, and merely for his humour, presenting pistols to their breasts, swearing he would shoot them that moment, and then would beat them unmercifully, and all for his diversion, as he called it.

Having thus laid him fast, they presently resolved to stand away to the westward, by which they quitted the Martinico ship, who by that time was come nearer to them, and farther convinced them they were in no condition to have engaged her, for she was a stout ship, and full of men.

All this happened just the day before they shared their last prize among the prisoners (as I have said), in which they put on such a mock face of doing justice to the several captains and mates and other men, their prisoners, whose ships they had taken away, and who now they made a reparation to by giving them what they had taken violently from another, that it was a strange medley of mock justice made up of rapine and generosity blended together.

Two days after this they took a Bristol ship, bound from Newfoundland to Oporto with fish. They let her cargo alone, for they had no occasion for fish, but they took out also almost all their provisions, all the ammunition, arms, &c., all her good sails, also her best cables, and forced two of her men to go away

with them, and then put ten of the Frenchmen on board her, and let her go.

But just as they were parting with her they consulted together what to do with Williams, their lieutenant, who was then among their prisoners and in irons; and after a short debate they resolved to put him on board the Bristol man and send him away too, which accordingly was done, with directions to the master to deliver him on board the first English man-of-war they should meet with, in order to his being hanged for a pirate (so they jeeringly called him) as soon as he came to England, giving them also an account of some of his villainies.

The truth is, this Williams was a monster, rather than a man; he was the most inhuman, bloody, and desperate creature that the world could produce; he was even too wicked for Gow and all his crew, though they were pirates and murderers, as has been said. His temper was so savage, so villainous, so merciless, that even the pirates themselves told him it was time he was hanged out of the way.

One instance of this barbarity in Williams cannot be omitted, and will be sufficient to justify all that can be said of him — namely, that when Gow gave it as a reason against engaging with the Martinico ship, that he had a great many prisoners on board, as above, and some of their own men they could not depend upon, Williams proposed to have them all called up, one by one, and to cut their throats and throw them overboard — a proposal so horrid that the worst of the crew shook their heads at it; yet Gow answered him very handsomely, that there had been too much blood spilt already. Yet the refusing this heightened the quarrel, and was the chief occasion of his offering to pistol Gow himself, as has been said at large. After which his behaviour was such as made all the ship's crew resolved to be rid of him;

and 't was thought, if they had not had an opportunity to send him away, as they did by the Bristol ship, they would have been obliged to have hanged him themselves.

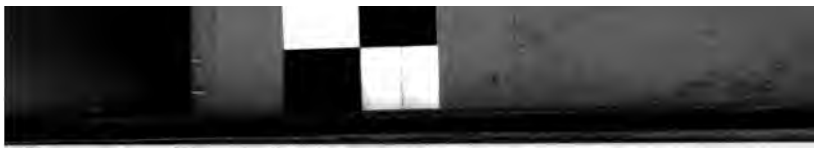
This cruel and butcherly temper of Williams being carried to such a height, so near to the ruin of them all, shocked some of them, and, as they acknowledged, gave them some check in the heat of their wicked progress; and had they had a fair opportunity to have gone on shore at the time, without falling into the hands of justice, 't is believed the greatest part of them would have abandoned the ship, and perhaps the very trade of a pirate too. But they had dipped their hands in blood, and Heaven had no doubt determined to bring them — that is to say, the chief of them — to the gallows for it, as indeed they all deserved; so they went on.

When they put Williams on board the Bristol man, and he was told what directions they gave with him, he began to resent, and made all the intercession he could to Captain Gow for pardon, or at least not to be put on board the ship, knowing if he was carried to Lisbon, he should meet with his due from the Portuguese, if not from the English; for it seems he had been concerned in some villainies among the Portuguese before he came on board the *George* galley. What they were he did not confess, nor indeed did his own ship's crew trouble themselves to examine him about it. He had been wicked enough among them, and it was sufficient to make them use him as they did; it was more to be wondered, indeed, they did not cut him in pieces upon the spot, and throw him into the sea, half on one side of the ship, and half on the other; for there was scarce a man in the ship but on one occasion or other had some apprehensions of him, and might be said to go in danger of his life from him.

But they chose to shift their hands of him this bloodless way; so they double-fettered him and brought him up. When they brought him out among the men, he begged they would throw him into the sea and drown him; then entreated for his life with a meanness which made them despise him, and with tears, so that one time they began to relent; but then the devilish temper of the fellow overruled it again; so at last they resolved to let him go, and did accordingly put him on board, and gave him a hearty curse at parting, wishing him a good voyage to the gallows, as was made good afterwards, though in such company as they little thought of at that time.

The Bristol captain was very just to them, for, according to their orders, as soon as they came to Lisbon, they put him on board the *Argyle*, one of his Majesty's ships, Captain Bowler, commander, then lying in the Tagus, and bound home for England, who accordingly brought him home; though, as it happened, Heaven brought the captain and the rest of the crew so quickly to the end of their villainies, that they all came home time enough to be hanged with their lieutenant. But I return to Gow and his crew. Having thus dismissed the Bristol man, and cleared his hands of most of his prisoners, he, with the same wicked generosity, gave the Bristol captain thirteen ceroons of beeswax, as a gratuity for his trouble and charge with the prisoners, and in recompense, as he called it, for the goods he had taken from him, and so they parted.

What these several captains did, to whom they thus divided the spoil of poor Ferneau's cargo, or, as I ought rather to call it, of the merchants' cargo which was loaded in Africa, — I say, what was done with the beeswax and other things which they distributed to the captains and their crews, who they



thus transposed from ship to ship, that we cannot tell, nor indeed could these people either well know how to keep it or how to part with it.

It was certainly a gift they had no power to give, nor had the other any right to it by their donation; but as the owners were unknown, and the several persons possessing it are not easily known, I do not see which way the poor Dutchmen can come at their goods again.

It is true indeed, the ships which they exchanged may and ought to be restored, and the honest owners put in possession of them again, and I suppose will be so in a legal manner; but the goods were so dispersed that it was impossible.

This was the last prize they took, not only on the coast of Portugal, but anywhere else; for Gow, who, to give him his due, was a fellow of counsel, and had a great presence of mind in cases of exigence, considered that as soon as the Bristol ship came into the river of Lisbon, they would certainly give an account of them, as well of their strength, as of their station in which they cruised; and that consequently the English men-of-war, of which there are generally some in that river, would immediately come abroad to look for them. So he began to reason with his officers, that now the coast of Portugal would be no proper place at all for them, unless they resolved to fall into the hand of the said men-of-war, and that they ought to consider immediately what to do.

In these debates some advised one thing, some another, as is usual in like cases: some were for going on to the coast of Guinea, where, as they said, was purchase enough, and very rich ships to be taken; others were for going to the West Indies, and to cruise among the islands, and take up their station at Tobago; others, and that not those of the most ignorant, proposed the standing in to the Bay of

Mexico, and to join in with some of a new sort of pirates at St. Jago de la Cuba, who are all Spaniards, and call themselves *garda del coasta*, that is, guard-ships for the coast, but under that pretence make prize of ships of all nations, and sometimes even of their own countrymen too, but especially of the English; but when this was proposed, it was answered they durst not trust the Spaniards.

Another sort was for going to the north of America, and after having taken a sloop or two on the coast of New England or New York, laden with provisions for the West Indies, which would not have been very hard to do, such being often passing and repassing there, and by which they might have been sufficiently stored with provision, then to have gone away to the South Seas. But Gow objected, that they were not manned sufficiently for such an undertaking; and likewise, that they had not sufficient stores of ammunition, especially of powder, and of small arms, for any considerable action with the Spaniards.

Then it was offered by the boatswain, who, it seems, had been in that part of the world, to go away to the Honduras, and to the Bay of Campeachy, among the buccaneers and logwood cutters, and there they should, in the first place, be sure to pick up forty or fifty stout fellows, good sailors, and bold, enterprising men, who understand the Spaniards and the Spanish coast on both sides of America as well as any men in the world, and had all firearms with them, and ammunition too; and that being well manned, they might take their hazard for provisions, which might be had anywhere, at least of one sort if not of another; besides, when they were thoroughly manned, they might cruise for provisions anywhere, and might be as likely to meet with the New York and New England sloops on the back of the

islands, in their way to Barbados and Jamaica, as anywhere.

Others said they should go first to the islands of New Providence, or to the mouth of the Gulf of Florida, and then cruising on the coast of North America, and making their retreat at New Providence, cruise from the Gulf of Florida, north upon the coast of Carolina, and as high as the capes of Virginia. But nothing could be resolved on; till at last Gow let them into the secret of a project which, as he told them, he had long had in his thoughts, and which was, to go away to the north of Scotland, near the coast of which, as he said, he was born and bred, and where, he said, if they met with no purchase upon the sea, he could tell them how they should enrich themselves by going on shore.

To bring them to concur with this design, he represented the danger they were in where they were, as above — the want they were in of fresh water, and of several kinds of provisions, but, above all, the necessity they were in of careening and cleaning their ship; that it was too long a run for them to go to the southward; and that they had not provisions to serve them till they could reach to any place proper for that purpose, and might be driven to the utmost distress if they should be put by from watering, either by weather or enemies.

Also he told them if any of the men-of-war came out in search of them, they would never imagine they were gone away to the northward; so that their run that way was perfectly secure. And he could assure them of his own knowledge, that if they landed in such places as he should direct, they could not fail of a comfortable booty in plundering some gentlemen's houses who lived secure and unguarded very near the shore; and that though the country should be alarmed, yet before the Govern-

ment could send any men-of-war to attack them, they might clean their ship, lay in a store of fresh provisions, and be gone; and besides that, they would get a good many stout fellows to go along with them upon his encouragement; and that they should be better manned than they were yet, and should be ready against all events.

These arguments, and their approaching fate concurring, had a sufficient influence on the ship's company to prevail on them to consent. So they made the best of their way to the northward, and about the middle of last January they arrived at Carristown, in the Isles of Orkney, and came to an anchor in a place which Gow told them was safe riding, under the lee of a small island at some distance from the port.

Gow being sole director as well as commander of the ship, called them all together, to tell them what account they should give of themselves when they came to converse with any of the people of the island, that they might agree in their story, and give no cause of suspicion; and 't is most certain that had they been careful to observe his directions, and not betrayed and exposed themselves, they might have passed undiscovered, and done all the mischief they intended without alarming the country. His orders were, that they should say they came from Cadiz, and were bound for Stockholm, and thence to Dantzig; but that they had had a long passage, by reason of contrary winds, and lost their opportunity of passing the Sound, which was now full of ice, if not frozen up; and that they had been driven so far to the northward by stress of weather, that they wanted water and fresh provisions, and to clean their ship; that they would pay for whatever they were supplied with; and that by the time they had cleaned their ship, they hoped the weather

would be warm, and the seas open for them to proceed on their voyage. This tale was easy to tell, and probable enough, and therefore likely enough to be believed; and they all obliged themselves to give the same account exactly, and not to vary the least tittle of it, or so much as whisper otherwise, upon pain of immediate death.

In Carristown harbour they found a small Scotch bark — Lumsdale, master — laden with wine and brandy, and bound about to the Isle of Man. This was a welcome thing to them all; and had it been anywhere else, they would have made it a good prize. But as they had goods sufficient on board, and such as were very acceptable merchandise, Lumsdale traded freely with them, and Gow bartered seven ceroons of wax and about 200 lbs. weight of Barbary copper with him for a hogshead of Geneva and an anker of brandy, and some other goods; and it was believed that Gow had some money into the bargain.

A day or two after a Swedish vessel came into the road, bound from Stockholm to Glasgow, and laden with Swedes iron and east country plants; they traded with her also for twenty coil of new rope, for which Gow gave the master eleven ceroons of beeswax. It has been said they plundered this vessel of several other goods, and obliged the master to promise to sail directly to his port without speaking to anybody, on pain of sinking the ship; but this wants confirmation; nor is it probable they would venture to do so in a port where they resolved to stay any long time, and where they knew it was so necessary to be entirely concealed.

But now their misfortunes began to come on, and things looked but with an indifferent aspect upon them; for several of their men, especially such of them as had been forced or decoyed into their ser-

vice, began to think of making their escape from them, and to cast about for means to bring it to pass. The first was a young man who was originally one of the ship's company, but was forced, by fear of being murdered, as has been observed, to give a silent assent to go with them; he took an opportunity to get away.

It was one evening when the boat went on shore (for they kept a civil correspondence with the people of the town), this young fellow, being one of the ship's crew, and having been several times on shore before, and therefore not suspected, gave them the slip, and got away to a farmhouse which lay under a hill out of sight; and there, for two or three pieces of eight, he got a horse, and soon by that means escaped to Kirkwall, a market-town, and the chief of the Orkneys, about twelve miles from the place where the ship lay.

As soon as he came there he surrendered himself to the Government, desiring protection, and informed them who Gow was, and what the ship's crew were, and upon what business they were abroad; with what else he knew of their designs, as to plundering the gentlemen's houses, &c., upon which they immediately raised the country, and got a strength together to defend themselves.

But the next disaster that attended them was (for misfortunes seldom come alone) more fatal than this, for ten of Gow's men, most of them likewise men forced into the service, went away with the long-boat, making the best of their way for the mainland of Scotland.

N.B. — These men, however they did, and what shift soever they made to get so far, were taken in the Firth of Edinburgh, and made prisoners there.

Had Gow taken the alarm, as he ought to have done, at either of these accidents, and put to sea,

either stood over for the coast of Norway, or have run through westward between the islands, and gone for the Isle of Man, or for the north of Ireland, he might easily have gone clear off; for there was no vessel in the country that was of force sufficient to have spoken with him.

But hardened for his own destruction, and justice evidently pursuing him, he grew the bolder for the disaster; and notwithstanding that the country was alarmed, and that he was fully discovered, instead of making a timely escape, he resolved to land upon them, and to put his intended projects, viz., of plundering the gentlemen's houses, in execution, whatever it cost him.

In order to this, he sent the boatswain and ten men on shore the very same night, very well armed, directing them to go to the house of Mr. Honnyman, of Grahamsey, sheriff of the county, and who was himself at that time, to his great good fortune, from home. The people of the house had not the least notice of their coming, so that when they knocked at the door it was immediately opened, upon which they all entered the house at once, except one Panton, who they set sentinel, and ordered him to stand at the door to secure their retreat, and to secure any from coming in after them.

Mrs. Honnyman and her daughter were extremely frighted at the sight of so many armed men coming into the house, and ran screaming about like people distracted, while the pirates, not regarding them, were looking about for chests and trunks, where they might expect to find some plunder. And Mrs. Honnyman, in her fright, coming to the door, asked Panton, the man who was set sentinel there, what the meaning of it all was? and he told her freely they were pirates, and that they came to plunder the house. At this she recovered some courage, and ran

back into the house immediately; and knowing, to be sure, where her money lay, which was very considerable, and all in gold, she put the bags in her lap, and boldly rushing by Panton, who thought she was only running from them in a fright, carried it all off and so made her escape with the treasure. The boatswain being informed that the money was carried off, resolved to revenge himself by burning the writings and papers, which they call there the charter of their estates, and are always of great value in gentlemen's houses of estate; but the young lady, Mr. Honnyman's daughter, hearing them threaten to burn the writings, watched her opportunity, and running to the charter-room where they lay, and tying the most considerable of them up in a napkin, threw them out of the window, jumped after them herself, and escaped without damage, though the window was one storey high at least.

However, the pirates had the plundering of all the rest of the house, and carried off a great deal of plate and things of value; and forced one of the servants, who played very well on the bagpipe, to march along, piping before them, when they carried them off to the ship.

The next day they weighed anchor, intending, though they had cleaned but one side of the ship, to put out to sea and quit the coast; but sailing eastward, they came to an anchor again at a little island called Calfsound; and having some farther mischief in their view here, the boatswain went on shore again with some armed men; but meeting with no other plunder, they carried off three women, who they kept on board some time, and used so inhumanly that when they set them on shore again they were not able to go or to stand, and we hear that one of them died on the beach where they left them.

The next day they weighed again, holding the

same course eastward through the openings between the islands, till they came off of Rossness; and now Gow resolved to make the best of his way for the island of Eda, to plunder the house of Mr. Fea, a gentleman of a considerable estate, and who Gow had some acquaintance with, having been at school together when they were youths.

It seems Gow's reason for resolving to attack this gentleman, who was his old acquaintance, was that he thought the alarm, given at Carristown, would necessarily draw the gentlemen and the best of their forces that way, which guess was far from being improbable, for just so it was; only with respect to Mr. Fea, who having had the alarm with the rest, yet stayed at home on a particular occasion, his wife being at that time very much indisposed.

It is to be observed here that Carristown and Eda lie with respect to each other north-east and south-west, and the bodies of the chief islands lie between them.

On the 13th of February, in the morning, Gow appearing with his ship off the island, called the Calf-sound, Mr. Fea and his family were very much alarmed, not being able to gather above six or seven men for his defence. He therefore wrote a letter to Gow, intending to send it on board as soon as he should get into the harbour, to desire him to forbear the usual salutes with his great guns, because Mrs. Fea, his wife, was so very much indisposed; and this, as he would oblige his old schoolfellow, telling him at the same time that the inhabitants were all fled to the mountain, on the report of his being a pirate, which he hoped would not prove true; in which case he should be very ready to supply him with all such necessaries as the island would afford, desiring him to send the messenger safe back, at whose return the alarms of the people would immediately be at an end.

The tide, it seems, runs extremely rapid among those islands, and the navigation is thereby rendered very dangerous and uncertain. Gow was an able seaman, but he was no pilot for that place, and, which was worse, he had no boat to assist, in case of extremity, to wear the ship; and in turning into Calf Sound he stood a little too near the point of a little island called the Calf, and which lay in the middle of the passage. Here his ship, missing stays, was in great danger of going ashore, to avoid which he dropped an anchor under his foot, which, taking good hold, brought him up, and he thought the danger was over.

But as the wind was, he lay so near the shore that he could not get under sail again for want of a boat to tow him out of the channel, or to carry off an anchor to heave him out.

That little island above is uninhabited, but affords pasture to five or six hundred sheep, which Mr. Fea always keeps upon it, for it belonged wholly to him. Gow was now in distress, and had no remedy but to send his small boat on shore to Mr. Fea to desire his assistance — that is to say, to desire him to lend him a boat to carry out an anchor to heave off the ship.

Mr. Fea sent back the boat with one James Laing in it, with the letter which I have already mentioned. Gow sent him back immediately with this answer, by word of mouth, viz., that he could write to nobody; but if Mr. Fea would order his people to assist him with a boat to carry out an anchor, he would reward them handsomely. Mr. Fea, in the meantime, ordered his great boat (for he had such a boat as Gow wanted) to be staved and launched into the water and sunk, and the masts, sails, and oars to be carried privately out of sight.

While this was doing, Mr. Fea perceived Gow's

boat coming on shore with five persons in her. These men having landed on the main island, left their boat on the beach, and all together marched directly up to the mansion-house. This put him into some surprise at first. However, he resolved to meet them in a peaceable manner, though he perceived they were all double armed. When he came up to them he entreated them not to go up to the house, because of the languishing condition of his wife; that she was already frighted with the rumours which had been raised of their being pirates, and that she would certainly die with the fear she was in for herself and family, if they came to the door.

The boatswain answered, they did not desire to fright his wife, or anybody else; but they came to desire the assistance of his boat, and if he would not grant them so small a favour, he had nothing to expect from them but the utmost extremity. Mr. Fea returned that they knew well enough he could not answer giving them or lending them his boat, or any help, as they appeared to be such people as was reported; but that if they would take them by force, he could not help himself.

But in the meantime, talking still in a friendly manner to them, he asked them to go to a neighbouring house, which he said was a change-house, that is a public-house, and take a cup of ale with him.

This they consented to, seeing Mr. Fea was all alone, so they went all with him. Mr. Fea in the meantime found means to give private orders that the oars and mast and sails of the pirates' boat should be all carried away, and that in a quarter of an hour after they had sat together, he should be called hastily out of the room on some pretence or other of somebody to speak with him; all which was performed to a tittle.

When he had got from them, he gave orders that his six men, who, as before, he had gotten together,

and who were now come to him well armed, should place themselves at a certain stile, behind a thick hedge, and which was about half the way between the ale-house and his own house; that if he came that way with the boatswain alone, they should suddenly start out upon them both, and throwing him down, should seize upon the other; but that if all the five came with him, he would take an occasion to be either before or behind them, so that they might all fire upon them without danger of hurting him.

Having given these orders, and depending upon their being well executed, he returned to the company, and having given them more ale, told them he would gladly do them any service that he could lawfully do, and that if they would take the trouble of walking up to his house in a peaceable manner, that his family might not be frighted with seeing himself among them, they should have all the assistance that was in his power.

The fellows, whether they had taken too much ale, or whether the condition of their ship and the hopes of getting a boat to help them blinded their eyes, is not certain, fell with ease into his snare, and agreed readily to go along with Mr. Fea; but after awhile resolved not to go all of them, only deputed the boatswain to go, which was what Mr. Fea most desired. The boatswain was very willing to accept of the trust, but it was observed he took a great deal of care of his arms, which was no less than four pistols, all loaded with a brace of bullets each; nor would he be persuaded to leave any of them behind him, no, not with his own men.

In this posture Mr. Fea and the boatswain walked along together very quietly till they came to the stile, which having got over, Mr. Fea seeing his men all ready, turned short about upon the boatswain, and taking him by the collar, told him he was his prisoner,

and the same moment the rest of his men rushing upon them, threw them both down, and so secured the boatswain without giving him time so much as to fire one pistol. He cried out, indeed, with all his might to alarm his men, but they soon stopped his mouth by first forcing a pistol into it, and then a handkerchief, and having disarmed him, and bound his hands behind him and his feet together, Mr. Fea left him there under a guard, and with his five other men, but without any arms, at least that could be seen, returned to the ale-house to the rest. The house having two doors, they divided themselves, and having rushed in at both doors at the same time, they seized all the four men before they were aware, or had time to lay hold of their arms. They did indeed what men could do, and one of them snapped a pistol at Mr. Fea, but it did not go off; and Mr. Fea snatching at the pistol at the same moment to divert the shot if it had fired, struck his hand with such force against the cock as very much bruised his hand.

They were all five now in his power, and he sent them away under a good guard to a village in the middle of the island, where they were kept separate from one another, and sufficiently secured.

Then Mr. Fea despatched expresses to the gentlemen in the neighbouring islands to acquaint them with what he had done, and to desire their speedy assistance; also desiring earnestly that they would take care that no boat should go within reach of the pirate's guns; and at night he, Mr. Fea, caused fires to be made upon the hill round him, to alarm the country, and ordered all the boats round the island to be hauled up upon the beach as far as was possible, and disabled also, lest the pirates should swim from the ship and get any of them into their possession.

Next day, the 14th, it blew very hard all day, and

in the evening, about high water, it shifted to W.N.W., upon which the pirates set their sails, expecting to get off, and so to lay it round the island, and put out to sea; but the fellow who was ordered to cut the cable checked the ship's way, and consequently, on a sudden, she took all aback; then the cable being parted, when it should have held, the ship ran directly on shore on the Calf Island; nor could all their skill prevent it. Then Gow, with an air of desperation, told them they were all dead men. Nor indeed could it be otherways, for having lost the only boat they had, and five of their best hands, they were able to do little or nothing towards getting their ship off; besides, as she went on shore, on the top of high water, and a spring tide, there was no hope of getting her off afterward. Wherefore the next morning, being Monday, the 15th, they hung out a white flag as a signal for parley, and sent a man on shore, upon Calf Island, for now they could go on shore out of the ship almost at half flood.

Now Mr. Fea thought he might talk with Gow in a different style from what he did before, so he wrote a letter to him, wherein he complained of the rude behaviour of his five men, for which he told him he had been obliged to seize on them and make them prisoners, letting him know that the country, being all alarmed, would soon be too many for him; and therefore advised him to surrender himself peaceably, and be the author of a quiet surrender of the rest, as the only means to obtain any favour; and then he might become an evidence against the rest, and so might save his own life.

This letter Mr. Fea sent by a boat with four armed men to the island, to be given to the fellow that Gow had sent on shore, and who waited there, and he at the same time gave them a letter from

Gow to Mr. Fea; for now he was humble enough to write, which before he refused.

Gow's letter to Mr. Fea was to let him have some men and boats to take out the best of the cargo, in order to lighten the ship and set her afloat; and offering himself to come on shore and be hostage for the security of the men and boats, and to give Mr. Fea a thousand pounds in goods for the service; declaring at the same time, if this small succour was refused him, he would take care nobody should better himself by his misfortune; for that rather than to be taken, they would set fire to the ship, and would all perish together.

Mr. Fea replied to this letter, that he had a boat, indeed, that would have been fit for his service, but that she was staved and sunk; but if he would come on shore quietly without arms, and bring his carpenter with him to repair the boat, he might have her.

This Mr. Fea did to give Gow an opportunity to embrace his first offer of surrendering. But Gow was neither humble enough to come in, nor sincere enough to treat with him fairly, if he had intended to let him have the boat; and if he had, 't is probable that the former letter had made the men suspicious of him; so that now he could do nothing without communicating it to the rest of the crew.

About four in the afternoon Mr. Fea received an answer to his last letter, the copy of which is exactly as follows: —

"From on board our Ship the *Revenge*,
"*Feb.* 16, 1725.

"Honoured Sir, — I am sorry to hear of the irregular proceedings of my men. I gave no orders to that effect. And what hath been wrongfully done to the country was contrary to my inclination. It

is my misfortune to be in this condition at present. It was in your power to have done otherwise in making my fortune better. Since my being in the country I have wronged no man, nor taken anything but what I have paid for. My design in coming was to make the country the better, which I am still capable to do, providing you are just to me. I thank you for the concern you have had for my bad fortune, and am sorry I cannot embrace your proposal, as being evidence; my people have already made use of that advantage. I have by my last signified my design of proceeding, provided I can procure no better terms. Please to send James Laing on board to continue till my return. I should be glad to have the good fortune to commune with you upon that subject. I beg you will assist me with a boat; and be assured I do no man harm, were 't in my power, as I am now at your mercy. I cannot surrender myself prisoner; I 'd rather commit myself to the mercy of the seas: so that if you will incline to contribute to my escape, shall leave you ship and cargo at your disposal. — I continue, honoured Sir, &c., JOHN SMITH."

Upon this letter, and especially that part wherein Gow desires to commune with him, Mr. Fea, believing he might do some service in persuading him to submit, went over to Calf Island, and went on shore alone, ordering his boat to lie in readiness to take him in again, but not one man to stir out of her; and calling to Gow with a speaking-trumpet, desired him to come on shore, which the other readily did. But Mr. Fea, before he ventured, wisely foresaw that, whilst he was alone upon the island, the pirates might, unknown to him, get from the ship by different ways, and, under cover of shore, might get behind and surround him; to prevent which, he set a

man upon the top of his own house, which was on the opposite shore, and overlooked the whole island, and ordered him to make signals with his flag, waving his flag once for every man that he saw come on shore, but if four or more came on shore, then to keep the flag waving continually till he, Mr. Fea, should retire.

This precaution was very needful, for no sooner was Mr. Fea advanced upon the island, expecting Gow to come on shore to meet him, but he saw a fellow come from the ship with a white flag, and a bottle, and a glass, and a bundle; then turning to his own house, he saw his man make the signals appointed, and that the man kept the flag continually waving; upon which he immediately retired to his boat, and he no sooner got into it but he saw five fellows running under shore, with lighted matches and granadoes in their hands, to have intercepted him, but seeing him out of their reach, they retired to the ship.

After this the fellow with the white flag came up, and gave Mr. Fea two letters. He would have left the bundle, which he said was a present to Mr. Fea, and the bottle, which he said was a bottle of brandy; but Mr. Fea would not take them; but told the fellow his captain was a treacherous villain, and he did not doubt but he should see him hanged; and as to him, the fellow, he had a great mind to shoot him; upon which the fellow took to his heels, and Mr. Fea being in his boat, did not think it worth while to land again to pursue him. This put an end to all parley for the present; but had the pirates succeeded in this attempt, they would have so far gained their point — either they must have been assisted, or Mr. Fea must have been sacrificed.

The two letters from Gow were one for Mr. Fea, and the other for his wife. The first was much to

the same purpose as the former; only that in this Gow requested the great boat with her masts and sails and oars, with some provisions, to transport themselves whither they thought fit to go for their own safety; offering to leave the ship and cargo to Mr. Fea, and threatening that if the men-of-war arrived (for Mr. Fea had given him notice that he expected two men-of-war) before he was thus assisted, they would set fire to the ship and blow themselves up; so that as they had lived they would all die together.

The letter to Mrs. Fea was to desire her to intercede with her husband, and pleading that he was their countryman, and had been her husband's schoolfellow, &c. But no answer was returned to either of these letters. On the 17th, in the morning, contrary to expectation, Gow himself came on shore upon the Calf Island unarmed, except his sword, and alone, except one man at a distance, carrying a white flag, making signals for a parley.

Mr. Fea, who by this time had gotten more people about him, immediately sent one Mr. Fea of Whitehall, and a gentleman of his own family, with five other persons, well armed, over to the island, with orders to secure Gow, if it was possible by any means, either dead or alive. When they came on shore, he proposed that one of them, whose name was Scollary, a master of a vessel, should go on board the ship, as hostage for this Gow's safety; and Scollary consenting, Gow himself conducted him to the ship's side.

Mr. Fea, perceiving this from his own house, immediately took another boat, and went over to the island himself. And while he was expostulating with his men for letting Scollary go for hostage, Gow returned; and Mr. Fea made no hesitation, but told him, in short, he was his prisoner; at which Gow,

starting, said it ought not to be so, since there was a hostage delivered for him. Mr. Fea said he gave no order for it, and it was what they could not justify; and since Scollary had ventured without orders, he must take his fate; he would run the venture of it, but advised Gow, as he expected good usage himself, that he would send the fellow who carried his white flag back to the ship, with orders for them to return Scollary in safety, and to desire Winter and Petersen to come with him.

Gow declined giving any such order; but the fellow said he would readily go and fetch them, and did so, and they came along with him. When Gow saw them, he reproached them for being so easily imposed, and ordered them to go back to the ship immediately. But Mr. Fea's men, who were too strong for them, surrounded them and took them all. When this was done, they demanded Gow to deliver his sword, but he said he would rather die with it in his hand, and begged them to shoot him. But that was denied; and Mr. Fea's men, disarming him of his sword, carried him with the other two into their boat, and after that to the main island, where Mr. Fea lived.

Having thus secured the captain, Mr. Fea prevailed with him to go to the shore over against the ship, and to call the gunner and another man to come on ashore on Calf Island, which they did; but they was no sooner there but they also were surrounded by some men, which Mr. Fea had placed out of sight upon the island for that purpose. Then they made Gow to call to the carpenter to come on shore, still making them believe they should have a boat, and Mr. Fea went over and met him alone, and talking to him, told him they could not repair the boat without help and without tools, so persuaded him to go back to the ship and bring a hand or two with him

and some tools, some oakum, nails, &c. The carpenter being thus deluded, went back, and brought a Frenchman and another with him, with all things proper for their work; all which, as soon as they came on shore, were likewise seized and secured by Mr. Fea and his men.

But there was still a great many men in the ship, who it was necessary to bring, if possible, to a quiet surrender. So Mr. Fea ordered his men to make a feint as if they would go to work upon the great boat which lay on shore upon the island, but in sight of the ship; there they hammered, and knocked, and made a noise, as if they were really calking and repairing her, in order to her being launched off and put into their possession. But towards night he obliged Gow to write to the men that Mr. Fea would not deliver the boat till he was in possession of the ship; and therefore he ordered them all to come on shore, without arms, and in a peaceable manner.

This occasioned many debates in the ship; but as they had no officers to guide them, and were all in confusion, they knew not what to do. So after some time, bewailing their hard fate, and dividing what money was left in the ship among them, they yielded and went on shore, and were all made prisoners, to the number of eight-and-twenty, including those who were secured before.

How he brought Gow to be so weak was something strange, Gow being not very supple. But whether it was that he hoped to fare the better for it, and to plead some merit by obliging his men to come in without blood (and perhaps they might encourage him in such expectations, though not promise him, for the last they could not); or whether it was that Gow, who knew their circumstances and temper also, was satisfied if he did not persuade them to it, they would certainly do it without any persuasion in a day

or two more, having indeed no other remedy, and some of them being really forced men, desiring nothing more than to surrender.

And if it was neither of these, perhaps Gow, whose case was now desperate, and who was fully in the power of his enemies, and in the hands of justice himself, from whom he had indeed no reason to expect any favour, was, perhaps — I say, he was not overdesirous to have the rest make their escape, and therefore was easier to persuade them to put themselves into the same unhappy circumstances with himself, it being most natural to people in such circumstances to desire to have their comrades engulfed in the same misery.

Be it which of these it will, Mr. Fea did certainly prevail with Gow to be the instrument to write to them, and to join, as it were, with Mr. Fea's stratagem to draw them on shore, without which they had not come, at least not at that time, and so they said afterwards, upbraiding him with having betrayed them; and yet it seems plain too, that when they went they took it for granted that they should be made prisoners, by their exclamations one to another, and by their sharing the money among them, as is said above.

It was indeed a most agreeable sight to see such a crew of desperate fellows so tamely surrender to a few almost naked countrymen, and to see them so circumvented by one gentleman that they were rendered quite useless to themselves and to their own deliverance; the want of a boat was as much to them as an actual imprisonment; nay, they were indeed in prison in their ship, nor was they able to stir one way or other, hand or foot. It was too cold to swim over to the island and seize the boat, and if they had, unless they had done it immediately at first, the people on shore would have been too

strong for them; so that they were as secure on board the ship, as to any escape they could have made, as they were afterwards in the condemned hold in Newgate.

Again, never were people more foolishly circumvented when they had a boat and conveniences, for had they gone on shore then, while they had a boat, though it was but their small boat, yet going at twice, twenty or five-and-twenty men of them, they might have repaired and launched Mr. Fea's great boat, in spite of all he could have done to hinder it, and then, if they could not have got their ship off, they might have come away, as the fellows did, with their own boat, and might soon have found means to get a bigger boat on the coast either of Scotland or England, and getting on shore in the night in any convenient part of England, might have dispersed and mixed themselves among the people, and made an effectual escape.

But their end was apparently at hand; justice was ready for them; their crimes had ripened them for the gallows, and the gallows claimed them; their time was come, and it was not in their power to avoid it.

I am longer upon this particular part because it is so very remarkable, and the circumstances of it are so unaccountable, that the boatswain should come on shore with his boat, and no more but four men, thinking to fire and plunder Mr. Fea's house with that little crew; as if he could imagine Mr. Fea, who they knew was alarmed and had been acquainted with what they were, should have nobody at all with him, or that he could storm his house with that little force.

Then that he should be wheedled into an ale-house by a single gentleman; as if he would have ventured himself into an ale-house with them if he

had not had help at hand to rescue him if anything had been offered to him.

Then, which was still worse, that they should be taken with the old bite of having the gentleman called out of the room, when they were together, as if he could have any business to talk of there but to lay a trap for them, and which, if they had their eyes about them, or, as we might say, any eyes in their heads, they might have seen into easily enough.

And to conclude this scene of madness and folly together, they came all away and left their boat, with nobody either in her to keep her afloat, or near her to guard and defend her. Nothing but men infatuated to their own destruction, and condemned by the visible hand of Heaven to an immediate surprise, could have been so stupid; they might have been sure, if there were any people in the island, they would if possible secure their boat; and they ought at least to have considered the forlorn condition of the rest of their company in the ship, without a boat to help themselves. But blinded by their inevitable fate, in a word, they run into the snare with their eyes open; they stood, as it were, looking on, and saw themselves taken before it was done.

Nay, some of the men were heard to say, that if their captain, Gow himself, had but said the word, they were able to have built a boat on board, with such stuff as they could have pulled from the sides and ceilings of the ship, at least big enough to have gone out to sea, and sailing along the coast, have either found a better, or seized upon some other vessel in the night, or to have made their escape.

But never creatures were taken so tamely, tricked so easily, and so entirely disabled from the least defence, or the least contrivance for their escape; even Gow

himself, who, as I said before, never wanted a resolute courage or presence of mind before, and was never daunted by any difficulties, yet was now snapped under a pretence of a hostage, delivered, and being himself taken and disarmed, yields himself to be made a tool of to bring all the rest to yield at discretion.

In a word, they were as void of counsel as of courage; they were outwitted on every occasion; they could not see in the open day what any one else would have felt in the dark; but they dropped insensibly into Mr. Fea's hand by one, and two, and three at a time, as if they had told him beforehand that if he went on with his stratagem, he should be sure to have them all in his custody very quickly. And though every one, as fast as they went on shore, were made prisoners and secured, yet the others were made to believe they were at liberty, and were simple enough to come on shore to them.

Everything we can say of the blindness and folly of these people, who Heaven having determined to punishment, demented and blinded to prepare them for their being brought to it, — I say, everything that can be said to expose their stupidity and blindness is a just panegyric upon the conduct of that gentleman, by whose happy conduct, and the dexterous turn he gave to every incident which happened in the whole affair, was indeed the principal means of their being all apprehended.

Had this gentleman, knowing their strength and number was so great, being four times as many men as he had about him, and better provided for mischief than he was for defence, — had he, as it seems others did, fled with his family over the Firth, or arm of the sea, which parted his island from the rest, by which they had secured themselves from danger; or had he, with the few men and firearms which he

had about him, fortified and defended themselves in his house, and resolved to defend themselves there, the pirates had in all probability gone off again, left him, and made their escape. Nay, if they had run their ship aground, as they afterwards did, and though they had been obliged to lay the bones there, they would, however, have got away some boat off the shore to have made a long-boat of, and have made their escape along the coast, till they came to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and there nothing had been more easy than to have separated and gone to London, some in one ship, some in another; or, as one of them proposed, they should have found some coasting barque or other riding near the shore, which they might have boarded, and so gone off to sea which way they pleased.

But they were come a great way to bring themselves to justice, and here they met with it in the most remarkable manner, and with such circumstances as I believe are not to be imitated in the world.

When they were all on shore, and were told that they were prisoners, they began to reassume a kind of courage, and to look upon one another, as if to lay hold of some weapon to resist; and 't is not doubted but if they had had arms then in their hands, they would have made a desperate defence. But it was too late, the thing was all over, they saw their captain and all their officers in the same condition, and there was no room for resistance then; all they could have done had been only to cause them to be the more effectually secured, and perhaps to have had some or other of them knocked on the head for examples; so seeing there was no remedy, they all submitted quietly, and were soon dispersed one from another, till more strength came to carry them off, which was not long.

Thus ended their desperate undertaking, Heaven

having by a visible infatuation upon themselves, and a concurrence of other circumstances, brought them all into the hands of justice, and that by the particular bravery and conduct of one gentleman, I mean Mr. Fea, who so well managed them that, as above, having at first but five or six men with him, he brought the whole company, partly by force and partly by stratagem, to submit, and that without any loss of blood on one side or other.

Among the rest of the papers found on board the ship was the following copy of a draft, or agreement of articles or orders, or what you please to call them, which were to have been signed, and were for the direction of the men, whether on shore or on board, when they came to an anchor in the Orkneys.

They would, I suppose, have been put up upon the mainmast if they had had longer time; but they soon found articles were of no value with such fellows; for the going away with the long-boat, and ten men in her, confounded all their measures, made them jealous and afraid of one another, and made them act afterwards as if they were under a general infatuation or possession, always irresolute and unsettled, void of any forecast or reasonable actings; but having the plunder of Mr. Fea's house in their view, when they should have chiefly regarded their own safety and making their escape, they pushed at the least significant though most difficult part, and which was their ruin in the undertaking, when they should at first have secured their lives, which, at least to them, was the thing of most value, though the easiest at that time to have secured.

By this preposterous way of proceeding they drew themselves into the labyrinth and were destroyed, without any possibility of recovery; nay, they must have perished by hunger and distress if there had been nobody to have taken them prisoners; for

having no boat to supply them with necessaries, their ship fast aground upon a barren and uninhabited island, and no way to be supplied, they were themselves in the utmost despair, and I think it was one of the kindest things that could be done for them to bring them off and hang them out of the way.

Their foolish articles were as follows, viz. : —

I. That every man shall obey his commander in all respects, as if the ship was his own, and we under monthly pay.

II. That no man shall give or dispose of the ship's provisions, whereby may be given reason of suspicion that every one hath not an equal share.

III. That no man shall open or declare to any person or persons what we are, or what design we are upon ; the offender shall be punished with death upon the spot.

IV. That no man shall go on shore till the ship is off the ground and in readiness to put to sea.

V. That every man shall keep his watch night and day, and precisely at the hour of eight leave off gaming and drinking, every one repair to their respective stations.

VI. Whoever offends shall be punished with death, or otherwise, as we shall find proper for our interest.

N.B. — This draft of articles seems to be imperfect, and, as it were, only begun to be made, for that there were several others intended to be added ; but it was supposed that their affairs growing desperate, their long-boat gone, and the boatswain and boat's crew in the pinnace or smaller boat gone also and made prisoners, there was no more need of articles, nor would anybody be bound by them if they were made ; so the farther making of orders and articles was let alone.

These that were made were written with Gow's own hand, and 't is supposed that the rest would have been done so too, and then he would have taken care to have them executed; but he soon found there was no occasion of them, and I make no question but all their other papers and articles of any kind were destroyed.

Being now all secured and in custody in the most proper places in the island, Mr. Fea took care to give notice to the proper officers in the country, and by them to the Government at Edinburgh, in order to get help for the carrying them to England. The distance being so great, this took up some time, for the Government at Edinburgh being not immediately concerned in it, but rather the Court of Admiralty of Great Britain, expresses were despatched from thence to London, that his Majesty's pleasure might be known; and in return to which, orders were despatched into Scotland to have them immediately sent up to England, with as much expedition as the case would admit; and accordingly they were brought up by land to Edinburgh first, and from thence being put on board the *Greyhound* frigate, they were brought by sea to England.

This necessarily took up a great deal of time, so that had they been wise enough to improve the hours that were left, they had almost half a year's time to prepare themselves for death; though they cruelly denied the poor mate a few moments to commend his soul to God's mercy, even after he was half murdered before. I say, they had almost half a year, for they were most of them in custody the latter end of January, and they were not executed till the 11th of June.

The *Greyhound* arrived in the river the 26th of March, and the next day came to an anchor at Woolwich, and the pirates being put into boats ap-

pointed to receive them, with a strong guard to attend them, were brought on shore the 30th, conveyed to the Marshalsea Prison in Southwark, where they were delivered to the keeper of the said prison, and were laid in irons, and there they had the mortification to meet their Lieutenant Williams, who was brought home by the *Argyle* man-of-war from Lisbon, and had been committed to the same prison for a very few days.

Indeed, as it was a mortification to them, so it was more to him; for though he might be secretly pleased that those who had so cruelly, as he called it, put him into the hands of justice by the sending him to Lisbon, were brought into the same circumstances with himself, yet, on the other hand, it could not but be a terrible mortification to him that here now were sufficient witnesses found to prove his crimes upon him, which were not so easy to be had before.

Being thus laid fast, it remained to proceed against them in due form, and this took up some longer time still.

On Friday, the 2nd of April, they were all carried to Doctors' Commons, where, the proper judges being present, they were examined, by which examination due measures were taken for the farther proceedings; for as they were not equally guilty, so it was needful to determine who it was proper to bring to an immediate trial, and who being less guilty, were more proper objects of the Government clemency, as being under force and fear, and consequently necessitated to act as they did; and also who it might be proper to single out as evidence against the rest. After being thus examined, they were remanded to the Marshalsea.

On the Saturday, the 8th of May, the five who were appointed for evidence against the rest, and whose names are particularly set down in its place,

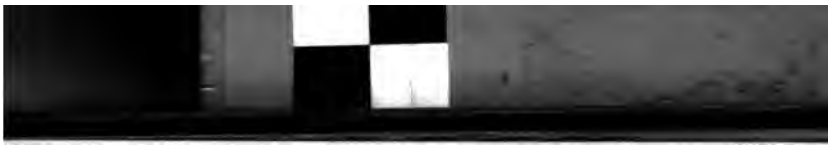
were sent from the Marshalsea Prison to Newgate, in order to give their information.

Being thus brought up to London and committed to the Marshalsea Prison, and the Government being fully informed what black uncommon offenders they were, it was thought proper to bring them to speedy justice.

In order to this, some of them, as is said, who were less criminal than the rest, and who apparently had been forced into their service, were formed out, and being examined, and giving first an account of themselves and then of the whole fraternity, it was thought fit to make use of their evidence for the more clear detecting and convincing of the rest. These were George Dobson, John Phinnes, Timothy Murphy, William Booth.

These were the principal evidence, and were indeed more than sufficient; for they so exactly agreed in their evidence, and the prisoners (pirates) said so little in their defence, that there was no room for the jury to question their guilt, or to doubt the truth of any part of the account given in.

Robert Read was a young man, mentioned above, who escaped from the boat in the Orkneys, and getting a horse at a farmer's house, was conveyed to Kirkwall, the chief town of the said Orkneys, where he surrendered himself. Nevertheless he was brought up with the rest as a prisoner, nor was he made use of as evidence, but was tried upon most, if not all, the indictments with the rest. But Dobson, one of the witnesses, did him the justice to testify that he was forced into their service, as others were, for fear of having their throats cut, as others had been served before their faces; and that, in particular, he was not present at, or concerned in, any of the murders for which the rest were indicted; upon which evidence he was acquitted by the jury.



Also he brought one Archibald Sutor, the man of the house, said above to be a farmhouse, whither the said Read made his escape in the Orkneys, who testified that he did so escape to him, and that he begged him to procure him a horse to ride off to Kirkwall, which he did, and that there he surrendered himself. Also he testified that Read gave him (Sutor) a full account of the ship, and of the pirates that were in her, and what they were; and he (Sutor) discovered it all to the collector of the customs; by which means the country was alarmed. And he added that it was by this man's means that all the prisoners were apprehended (though that was a little too much too), for 't is plain it was by the vigilance and courage of Mr. Fea chiefly they were reduced to such distress as obliged them to surrender.

However, it was true that Read's escape did alarm the country, and that he merited very well of the public for the timely discovery he made. So he came off clear, as indeed it was but just; for he was not only forced to serve them, as above, but, as Dobson testified for him, he had often expressed his uneasiness at being obliged to act with them, and that he wished he could get away; and that he was sincere in those wishes, as appeared in that he took the first opportunity he could get to put it in practice.

N.B.—This Dobson was one of the ten men who ran away with the pirates' long-boat from the Orkneys, and who were afterwards made prisoners in the Firth of Leigh and carried to Edinburgh.

Gow was now a prisoner among the rest in the Marshalsea; his behaviour there was sullen and reserved rather than penitent. It had been hinted to him by Mr. Fea, as others, that he should endeavour, by his behaviour, to make himself an evidence against others, and to merit his life by a ready submission,

and obliging others to do the like. But Gow was no fool, and he easily saw there were too many gone before who had provided for their own safety at his expense. And besides that, he knew himself too deeply guilty of cruelty and murder to be expected by the public justice as an evidence, especially when so many others, less criminals, were to be had. This, I say, made him, and with good reason too, give over any thoughts of escaping by such means as that, and, perhaps, seeing so plainly that there was no room for it, might be the reason why he seemed to reject the offer; otherwise he was not a person of such nice honour as that we should suppose he would not have secured his own life at the expense of his comrades.

But, as I say, Gow was no fool. So he seemed to give over all thought of life from the first time he came to England; not that he showed any tokens of his repentance, or any sense of his condition, suitable to what was before him, but continuing, as above, sullen and reserved, even to the very time he was brought to the bar. When he came there, he could not be tried with the rest; for the arraignment being made in the usual form, he refused to plead. The court used all the arguments which humanity dictates in such cases, to prevail on him to come into the ordinary course of other people in like government, laying before him the sentence of the law in such cases, namely, that he must be pressed to death, the only torturing execution which remains in our law, which, however, they were obliged to inflict.

But he continued inflexible, and carried on his obstinacy to such a height as to receive the sentence in form, as usual in such cases, the execution being appointed to be done the next morning, and he was carried back to Newgate in order to it. But whether he was prevailed with by argument and the reasons

of those about him, or whether the apparatus for the execution and the manner of the death he was to die terrified him, we cannot say; but the next morning he yielded, and petitioned to be allowed to plead, and be admitted to be tried in the ordinary way; which being granted, he was brought to the bar by himself, and pleaded, being arraigned again upon the same indictment, upon which he had been sentenced as a mute, and was found guilty.

Williams, the lieutenant, who, as has been said, was put on board a Bristol ship, with orders to deliver him on board the first English man-of-war they should meet with, comes, of course, to have the rest of his history made up in this place.

The captain of the Bristol ship, though he received his orders from the crew of pirates and rogues, whose instructions he was not obliged to follow, and whose accusation of Williams they were not obliged to give credit to, yet punctually obeyed the order and put him on board the *Argyle* (Captain Bowler), then lying in the port of Lisbon, and bound for England, who, as they took him in irons, kept him so, and brought him to England in the same condition.

But as the pirates did not send any of their company, nor indeed could they do it, along with him, to be evidence against him, and the men who went out of the pirate ship on board a Bristol ship being till then kept as prisoners on board the pirate ship, and perhaps could not have said enough or given particular evidence sufficient to convict him in a court of justice, Providence supplied the want, by bringing the whole crew to the same place (for Williams was in the Marshalsea Prison before them), and by that means furnishing sufficient evidence against Williams also, so that they were all tried together.

In Williams's case the evidence was as particular as in Gow's; and Dobson and the other swore positively

that Williams boasted that after Macaulay had cut the supercargo's throat imperfectly, he (Williams) did his business, that is to say, murdered him; and added, that he would not give him time to say his prayers, but shot him through the head; Phinnes and Timothy Murphy testifying the same. And to show the bloody disposition of this wretch, William Booth testified that Williams proposed afterwards to the company, that if they took any more ships, they should not encumber themselves with the men, having already so many prisoners; that in case of a fight they should take them and tie them back to back, and throw them all overboard into the sea.

It should not be omitted here also in the case of Gow himself, that as I have observed in the Introduction, Gow had long meditated the kind of villainy which he now put in practice, and that it was his resolution to turn pirate the first opportunity he should get, whatever voyage he undertook, and that I observed he had intended it on board a ship in which he came home from Lisbon, but failed only for want of making a sufficient party; so this resolution of his is confirmed by the testimony and confession of James Belvin, one of his fellow-criminals, who upon the trial declared that he knew that Gow, and, he added, the crew of the *George* galley, had a design to turn pirates from the beginning, and added, that he discovered it to George Dobson in Amsterdam, before the ship went out to sea. For the confirmation of this, Dobson was called up again, after he had given his evidence upon the trials, and being confronted with Belvin, he did acknowledge that Belvin had said so, and that in particular he had said the boatswain and several others had such a design, and in especial manner, that the said boatswain had a design to murder the master and some others, and run away with the ship; and being asked what was the reason why he did not im-

mediately discover it to the master, Captain Ferneau, he answered, that he heard him (Belvin) tell the mate of it, and that the mate told the captain of it; but that the captain made light of it; but that though he was persuaded not to let the boatswain go along with them, yet the captain said he feared them not, and would still take him; but that the boatswain finding himself discovered, refused to go; upon which Gow was named for boatswain, but was made second mate, and then Belvin was made boatswain; and had he been as honest afterward as before (whereas, on the contrary, he was as forward and active as any of them, except that he was not in the first secret, nor in the murders), he might have escaped what afterwards became so justly his due. But as they acted together, justice required they should suffer, and accordingly Gow and Williams, Belvin, Melvin, Winter, Petersen, Rowlinson, Macaulay, received the reward of their cruelty and blood at the gallows, being all executed together the 11th of June.

N.B.—Gow, as if Providence had directed that he should be twice hanged, his crimes being of a twofold nature, and both capital, soon he was turned off, fell down from the gibbet, the rope breaking by the weight of some that pulled his leg to put him out of pain. He was still alive and sensible, though he had hung four minutes, and able to go up the ladder the second time, which he did with very little concern, and was hanged again; and since that a third time, viz., in chains over against Greenwich, as Williams is over against Blackwall.

LIVES OF SIX NOTORIOUS STREET-ROBBERS

LIVES *of* SIX NOTORIOUS STREET-ROBBERS

IT is evident from several circumstances which I shall have occasion to mention as we go on, that these six criminals are but a small detachment from that large body of rogues who, though they are of several particular professions in thieving, yet make up one great gang, and act in concert with one another in all parts of the town.

Some are already fallen into the hands of justice; and three of the five that were executed last sessions were of this fraternity; and had they been all still loose and at liberty, I understand they had formed a design, to use their own words, that would have startled the whole town. What it was, it seems they have not been ingenuous enough to discover, no, not at the gallows; for they have only given the town a kind of general alarm, and, as it were, bid all honest people have a care, both of themselves and of their houses, intimating that there are still hands enough in the gang to prosecute the villainy they had concerted before, though so many of their leaders have been taken off before it could be made ripe for execution.

It is not worth while to make imperfect guesses at what this *coup d'éclat*, this great attempt, might be, seeing there is no coming at a certainty in that inquiry, unless the inquirer had been a confederate, or that we had a correspondence among them, which infernal honour we cannot pretend to; perhaps a

little time may bring it out at the gallows when other crimes receive their reward.

In the meantime, it is some surprise to the world that this new society of robbers, more than any that ever went before them, at least in England, have been particularly marked with this infamous character, that they are murderers as well as thieves, and that they have been more bent upon blood than even the worst gangs of rogues among us have usually been.

In giving an account of the lives of these six, who as they are singled out for examples by the hand of justice, and have been most notorious, as well for blood as robberies, we need not go back to their original, as to their parents and families; it may expose as well as afflict their relations, if they have any, who perhaps have been no way accessory to their after behaviour, or to the villainies they have been guilty of; but it can be very little help to this present work, or give any light into their story, or be of any use to the reader.

Nor is it their lives, or the history of their lives, as men, that is the subject of this tract, but their history as rogues, their lives as street-robbers, housebreakers, thieves, and murderers. This is the subject I am to write upon; and as their lives, however short (for they seem all to be but young in the world, though old in wickedness), offer to our view a vast variety of horrid particulars, we need go no further back for what we call their history, than to their introduction into the wicked trade which they have carried on so long.

In our inquiries after their more early performances, we find Blewet to be the most ancient thief; whether he was the oldest man or not does not occur to my memory. His first introduction, it seems, was at the famous College of Newgate; for as all

academic learning is acquired gradually, and the most eminent doctors are first entered juniors, sophists, and then rise by just degrees, so in this academy of the devil, his scholars are entered first pickpockets, or divers, then shoplifters, filers, and several of the lowest rate thieves, till, as they improve, they commence graduates, such as footpads, street-robbers, housebreakers, highwaymen, and murderers; and so to the gallows, which is the last gradation of their preferment.

Blewet had, it seems, gone through all those degrees, and, I am assured, served a full apprenticeship to the first, for that he was no less than seven years a pickpocket, inclusive of one year which he set apart for a particular trade, of flipping gentlemen's swords from their sides. In this he was so successful, that if I may believe a particular person of credit with the late Jonathan Wild, Mr. Blewet had no less than sixteen silver-hilted swords in his custody at one time, and one gold one. Whether Jonathan and he had an understanding together in the managing part of the whole cargo, I cannot answer to that in particular; but that they had in part of it, I have some reason to say there is no doubt of that.

As Blewet carried on this trade long before he removed into a higher employment, it may not be amiss to give some particular account of his conduct, and especially of some very nice and narrow escapes he made when he was even at the very brink of being taken. One night in particular, as he was out upon the lay, he observed a grave gentleman walking soberly and slowly along the street, with his hat under his arm, the weather being hot; and having, upon looking narrowly into the matter, found that he had on a silver-hilted sword, for it was necessary to be satisfied in that part before any hazard was run, — I say, having found it to be right, he follows

the gentleman to the door of the George, right against Stocks Market, when he comes up behind him, and gives the gentleman's hat a push with his hand, so that it flew forward from under his arm, which he knew very well would occasion the gentleman to step forward too, and stoop for his hat, and accordingly the gentleman did so.

At the moment the gentleman stooped, the artist laid hold of the silver-hilted sword, and gave it a gentle pull horizontally, parallel with the belt, the belt being a little raised up to bring it to a straight, that so the sword might come out without the wearer's feeling it, by pulling the belt; that is to say, in few words, he pulled it according to art.

But the gentleman, who, as he said afterwards, had lost a sword by the same method before, used himself constantly to hook his sword into his belt by the hook of the scabbard; and the sword not coming easily out of the scabbard, nor the scabbard easily out of the belt, either of which would have served his turn, he was balked in the enterprise.

However, he let go his hold of the sword so dexterously, that had not the following accident intervened he had never been in any danger. But the old gentleman, however, surprised with the thrusting down his hat, yet recovered it so soon, and turned about so nimbly, that with his cane he struck the operator a terrible blow on the head, and knocked him down. This he did, not really distinctly seeing the fellow, because it was dark, and not knowing anything of the design upon the sword, but as he thought somebody behind him had affronted him, and so struck at an adventure, fall where it would.

But another incident opened his eyes to the whole design, for in the sudden turn the gentleman gave, he felt his sword give a pull at his side belt, having been let go a little too soon before the hilt. As this

was a defect of art, so it gave the gentleman to understand that if his sword had not been hooked to the belt, or if the blade had come easily out of the scabbard, it had been gone.

As I say this was a defect of art, it is necessary to note for the reader's understanding what the words of command in this exercise of taking a sword off are; and first it seems it is thus: —

1. Lay your right hand upon the belt.
2. Lift the belt gently up with your right hand, that it may not be felt.
3. Lay your right hand upon the hilt.
4. Lower the hilt gently to a level with the scabbard in the belt.
5. When they are exactly on a level, pull the hilt gently to the left, still keeping it upon a straight line with the scabbard, and you are sure of it, provided it be not hooked; but if you find it hooked, and so the scabbard will not then draw,
6. Quit your hold of the hilt first, and the very moment you find it will not come,
7. Quit your hold of the belt, lowering it a little gently first, as before you raised it, that it may not be felt.

If you find a gentleman has not perceived you, and that you are come off safe, follow him a little farther, and taking your opportunity, make another attempt, not for the sword and scabbard out of the belt, but for the sword out of the scabbard, leaving the scabbard in the belt. The directions are as follows: —

1. Lay your right hand on the scabbard, in that part which is in the belt, so that your hand may grip the scabbard and belt together, and be sure to hold them both very hard in your hand.
2. Lift the scabbard and belt together gently upwards, as before, but not quite so high as to lie upon a level.

3. Lay your hand upon the hilt, and with a swift strong stroke draw it out of the scabbard.

4. Then lowering the belt and scabbard gently with your right hand, quit them, and make off with your prize.

5. The first cellar window you come at with iron bars, thrust in the blade of the sword, and break it off from the hilt at one blow, lest you be seen running with a naked sword, which will give an alarm.

These rules of art, though Mr. Blewet was thoroughly acquainted with them, yet it seems he was not so exact in the execution as he ought to have been, but that letting go with his right hand before his left, the gentleman felt the jerk or twitch of his left hand at the sword, and knew by it what was the design. Upon this discovery he challenged him loudly with the attempt; but the artist denying, quarrelled as loudly at him for striking him without cause, pretending he was only crossing the pavement behind him to go into the passage to the George, which was a public-house. This was a probable, though really a feigned, excuse; and as the gentleman could not prove that he (Blewet) had done anything, the people began to gather about Blewet and take his part, and were for carrying the injured gentleman before my lord mayor; but Blewet had no mind to venture his character to a further inquiry, so he let it drop, and went off well satisfied that he got off so well.

Another time he had taken up his station in Exchange Alley, where, passing and repassing to observe the motions of the company, the alley being very much crowded, at last he cast his eye upon a pocket-book, which he had seen walk out of a gentleman's waist-coat-pocket; and after some time, several bills being supposed to be put into it more than might be before, Mr. Blewet was pleased to follow it very

close, and thinking he had an opportunity to touch it fairly, dived for it, but missing the pocket-book, drew out his hand without it; and well it was for him that he did so, for a gentleman in the crowd passing, or rather thronging, by him hastily, and seeing him plainly bring his hand, though empty, out of the gentleman's pocket, steps to him. "Hark you, young man," says the gentleman, "I saw what you did, and I find you have missed your prize; take heed what you do here."

The young hardened thief huffed, and gave ill language at first, knowing he had stolen nothing, and that the person whose pocket his hand had been in had not felt him; but the gentleman bade him be gone, told him it was his best way; that if he did not, he would raise the mob upon him for a pickpocket, and have him punished; and then warning him calmly to have a care of the gallows, said to him, with a kind of prophetic kindness, these words, "Hark ye, lad, thou art but young yet, but I find thou art hardened in thy way; remember my word, thou wilt certainly come to be hanged." The wretch seemed a little moved at that part, but making a fairly saucy reply, yet speaking so low that the gentleman could not distinctly hear what he said, he marched off grumbling, as if he was greatly injured.

But he was not to be warned with that escape, but in less than a quarter of an hour the very same gentleman, coming across Lombard Street, found him at the end of Exchange Alley, again going into Lombard Street; and there he warned him again, bid him be gone, or he assured him he would have him disciplined. The desperate young fellow returned him very saucy language, and seemed to threaten him for abusing him, as he called it. Both these accounts I had from the very mouths of the

gentlemen concerned in the facts, as well the gentleman who had his sword pulled at over against Stocks Market, as the other who gave him the admonition in Lombard Street, and warned him of the gallows.

The gentleman, however, not doubting but he should have him in a little time, took care to watch him very narrowly in the alley; nor was it long before he took him in the act, when delivering him over to the rabble, he received the discipline of the pump in Bell Yard, Gracechurch Street, and afterwards at the horse-pond at the Cross Keys Inn in the same street.

This cooled his boldness for a while, but he soon fell into his old business, and followed it near two years after this, sometimes with success, and sometimes with the same misfortune. One of the most successful of his attempts during the latter part, and while he drove his low-prized trade, as he himself called it — I mean the pickpocket business — was, it seems, at St. James's, whether at the Parish Church or at the Chapel Royal he would not give an account; but it seems to me by the relation that he was at both, and, as himself related it, was well dressed, so that he passed for a young gentleman of figure. Here he made four prizes in one day, viz., two gold watches, a gold snuff-box, and a gold-headed cane.

The gold snuff-box, which was his first booty, he kept his eye upon a long while, and found the gentleman who had it used it so frequently that it would have been very troublesome to have put it up in a fob or close pocket, so disposed of it with a careless air; his eyes being often up, not towards heaven, but the gallery, where some ladies sat, which had more of his attention, occasioned his often pulling out his gold snuff-box, perhaps to at-

tract the ladies' eyes to him, as they attracted his to them on another account.

This pursuing the ladies with his thoughts, I suppose, as well as with his eyes, made him so careless of his snuff-box that he rather seemed to toss it into his coat-pocket than to put it leisurely in, which the vigilant thief perceiving, he watched him so exactly that at length he found means to place his hand so dexterously in one corner of the pocket that the beau, who but just touched the flap of the pocket to let the box fall in, dropped it into his very hand; so that, in short, he boasted the gentleman gave him his snuff-box, with which he immediately withdrew out of the church, going only round, and so went in at another door.

Here he had the good fortune to see a lady of quality, who, he supposed, was big with child, come out of her pew, with her little daughter following her, the elder lady being very sick, and obliged to go out of the church. Her servants, who had notice of it, were in a great hurry to run and get her coach to the church door, and everybody made way for her ladyship in the aisle as she passed towards the door. It was not the most difficult thing in the world for a man of art, as Mr. Blewet by this time was, to get access to her gold watch, which he took care of with his utmost application, and having secured it, walked out of the church with a leisurely, grave pace, though, as he said, he mended his speed as soon as he turned the corner of the first street, for he rightly judged that it could not be long before there might be noise enough at the church doors. The beau indeed missed his snuff-box immediately, and he heard some small bustle about it before he had finished his second adventure; but having the watch just then in his eye, and the hurry the lady put the people in by being sick and ready to faint away, made them not

hear the noise of a pickpocket at the farther end of the church, so he had time to finish that exploit; and, as it seems he heard afterwards, the lady was so very ill she never missed her watch till she came home.

This being his morning's work, he walked away, and secured what he had got, and in the afternoon took his walk again, but in a different dress from that he was in before, for he had means to furnish himself with the richest clothes of as many differing sorts as he found for his purpose.

In this second equipment he managed so dexterously that he walked off with another gold watch and a gold-headed cane. The watch, it seems, he found means to come at from a lady's side coming out of the church, but I could not obtain the particular account of the manner, nor whether it was at St. James's Church or St. Anne's; but it seems he was not gone out of hearing before the cry of a lady's losing a watch reached him, upon which, not pretending the least concern about it, he calls a hackney-coach, and drove off very safe, nobody suspecting him.

But the story of the cane has some particulars in it more remarkable — viz., that from the church having so much unexpected success, he resolved, since it was a lucky Sunday, as he called it, to him, he would see a little farther; upon which, as gentlemen do, he goes away to a certain chocolate-house, not far from ——. Here he sits down, looks about him, observes with a hawk's eye everything that happened. Not a gentleman pulled out a watch or snuff-box but he knew which pocket he returned it to, and what metal it was made of. However, he saw nothing offered that fixed his design, but one gentleman, who, he found, put his snuff-box in his waistcoat-pocket, and his coat being opened and unbuttoned made the pocket easy to come at.

But while he was intent upon this, a sudden broil, which arose among some gentlemen just at the door, put the whole room into a sudden uproar; for two gentlemen, falling out in the street just without the chocolate-house door, came with their mouths full of high words into the house, some of their friends, as it were, pushing them in to prevent their fighting. However, they had not been three minutes in the house before they drew and made one fair pass at each other, wherein one of them received a slight hurt in the arm, but then immediately their friends ran in and parted and disarmed them.

This scuffle might have been of more worth to the vigilant Mr. Blewet if he had found anything before to fix his eye upon but the snuff-box; but as all the gentlemen ran of a heap to the place where the fray was made, so the person who had the snuff-box in his waistcoat-pocket was so eager amongst them that for the present there was no getting at him. But another gentleman, who likewise ran into the crowd, having left a fine cane lying on a table where he sat, with a blue ribbon and a gold head, he thought fit to leave his own cane, which was not much unlike it, having a blue string and a brass head, in the room of it, and so, mixing with the crowd as the rest did, took occasion to get to the door and walk out, as several other gentlemen did, and immediately took a hackney-coach, as before, and drove away.

It was not longer than Tuesday morning at farthest before Jonathan Wild, Esq., was visited on account of all these respective articles, and advertisements put in the newspapers, with large rewards and no questions to be asked; especially by the lady who went out of the church sick, whose watch being a fine repeating clock-watch, and loaded with trinkets of value, no less than twenty-five guineas was offered. But it would not do; nor could Jon-

athan prevail with Mr. Blewet to acknowledge that he had made anything that day, though it seems he pointed him out for the man, and could tell him what suit of clothes he hired for that day, and other particulars, by which he said he was sure it was he; nor did he fail to threaten him with his resentment for refusing to acknowledge them.

Blewet, who knew that Esquire Wild was as able to hurt him as he was malicious, and that when he threatened it he had some reason to expect the worst, and withal not being well furnished with methods to dispose of the valuable things he had got but to infinite loss, he resolved with himself to go over to Holland, where he had some notion of coming with them to a better market, and so at least to put them off without danger. He was encouraged to this by a comrade of his, since disposed of by the law, and who may be nameless for that reason. He was at the same time in dread of Jonathan Wild, and mortally hated him, but had not at that time any such cargo to carry over with him.

However, they went together, and there the gentlemen found ways and means to dispose of the two gold watches to their full value, as also the snuff-box and cane to some advantage, they being of value there for their make as well as for their metal.

Here he got so much knowledge of the country and of the people as, I suppose, was the particular motive of his going thither again the last time, and which proved so fatal to him.

His success in this adventure, by which he raised so large a sum of money — for he brought back seventy pistoles from Holland besides their expenses, — I say, this success made him look a little above his old trade for a time; but the money sinking apace by loud and vicious living, he fell to it again for a little while, till afterwards, by the advice of his new com-

panion that went to Holland with him, falling into better company, as he called it, they took him off from these smaller adventures, and put him upon a practice of another nature.

And thus you have the first part of the story of Mr. Blewet. He was, it is true, by those former practices inured to the business, fully master of all the sleight of hand so absolutely necessary for a thief, and better qualified than others for what he was to go upon next, and therefore his new gang were the better pleased with him, and more desirous of him. Nor was he received among them as a novice, but as an experienced hand that understood his business, and upon this foot it was that he soon became not a companion only, but a captain among them, a leader and director; and as he was a bold, daring fellow, of an enterprising temper, though they put him upon the general part as an employment, yet he was often their prompter in the particulars, frequently cut out business for them, and often went at the head of their expeditions himself.

They were soon joined by others; and not only Blueskin, and sometimes J. Sheppard, but several others embarking, the gang at one time made up no less than thirty-two, though they acted sometimes in different parties and upon separate intervals. By this means they grew so very bold that they frequently talked of going out upon the road in strong parties, able to rob all that came in their way; and had they done so, perhaps they might not have dropped into the hands of justice so sneakingly and meanly, as Blueskin called it, but if they had been attacked, might have had a fair field for it, and have died like men of honour, viz., in battle.

But they had no concert with one another equal to such a design, and though they did rob a great while, and that with uncommon success, yet they were

often surprised, and so many fell into the hands of the law, and that by the particular malice of Jonathan Wild, because they would not come into his government, that, in short, their number was greatly diminished, and from no less than two-and-thirty, of which, as I said, their gang once amounted to, they were reduced to eleven, and of these the famous Blueskin at last came into the same disaster. It was but a little before this that, feeling the sad fate of their fellows, the rest, far from being intimidated by their disaster, but rather made desperate, resolved that for the future they would, if possible, kill all those who should attempt to discover or betray them; and to this bloody resolution Blueskin was so true that, being afterwards surprised and taken before he could put it in execution, and not being able after his confinement to prevail upon Jonathan Wild to come to him, rather than not perform it, he attempted it in the very face of justice, and when the court was sitting at the Old Bailey.

The same desperate resolution, it seems, the whole gang had taken up, and, as we shall see in the sequel of this story, have fatally put in execution.

From this time we found also that even their ordinary robberies were more attended with blood, and murders have been more frequent all over this peaceable nation than was ever known before. Formerly we have found that, though now and then murders were committed, and that some bloody wretches were carried beyond the ordinary rate, yet that generally the worst of thieves did not kill people if they could help it, that is to say, unless driven to a kind of necessity by being known or pursued, or otherwise apprehensive of being discovered; and many highwaymen, and even housebreakers, when they have come to their end the old way, have valued themselves upon this, that though they have been driven

by their necessities to rob or break open houses, yet they never shed any blood, never committed any murder, never killed anybody in their lives.

But now the blood of a man or of a woman is become of so little price that like the Egyptians at Grand Cairo, where, they say, they will commit a murder for the value of a penny, so they have killed several people, with so much indifference that it has seemed a trifle to them, and they have not concerned themselves in the matter one way or other, but just as things offered, either murder or not to murder, as the devil and they agree about it. But to return to the gang — being, as I say, reduced to a small number compared to what they were at first, they made it their business to increase their body. Two sorts of places are particularly distinguished for supplying the places of defunct thieves, namely, Newgate and the glass-houses, and here they generally raise recruits.

By the glass-houses I do not mean the servants and workmen of the glass-makers, for you must not understand me to the prejudice of honest men; but 't is well known that there gangs of poor vagabond boys who having neither father or mother, house or home, to retreat to, creep at night into the ash-holes of the nealing arches of the glass-houses, where they lie for the benefit of the warmth of the place, and in the day-time stroll about the streets pilfering and stealing whatever comes in their way, and begging when sleight of hand will not maintain them; and as they grow up, these learn to be pickpockets, and so gradually advance till the gangs of higher-rate rogues wanting recruits, these list in their service, and become thieves of the first quality.

The gang, as above, being recruited from these places, and grown strong again, went on with success in the trade; and we must now take notice that they

were chiefly divided into three kinds, namely, footpads, street-robbers, and housebreakers, for, as to mere professed highwaymen, we did not find them qualified; they seldom or never went far from the town. They kept no horses, nor were they often seen on horseback anywhere; but they committed an innumerable number of crimes, and that of several kinds, but chiefly by setting upon people in the fields and in the streets; and the last of these as they found easiest to be performed, so more frequent opportunities presented; and, which was still more than all, the manner of escaping was generally easy, and often practised with success.

The first step they took of this kind, and which these, as well as most of the gang, were extraordinary well practised in, was attacking gentlemen and ladies in hackney-coaches, or sometimes in their own, as occasion presented. One of their first steps of this kind was upon a gentleman driving late along Portugal Row, that is to say, the west side of Great Lincoln's Inn Fields, near the arch.

It was a very dark night, and the gentleman had but one footman, who, having a flambeau in his hand, ran with it before the horses, so that there was no servant attending the coach. There were five of the gang out upon the lay in that division, and they met all together at this piece of work. Two of them advancing first, knocked down the footman, and put out his flambeau; a third stepped nimbly up to the coachman, though the coach was going, with a pistol in his hand, and speaking softly, bid him stop, or he was a dead man, the moment also charging him not to speak a word.

The gentleman finding his coach stop, looked out at one side, and calls to his man to know why he stopped; that moment one of the gang presenting a pistol to his breast, demands his money, and at the

same time another on the other side opening the coach door, goes impudently into the coach to him. The gentleman seeing himself in this condition, found it was to no purpose, and delivering his money, which was some guineas, his gold watch, and a fine ring from his finger, they left him, and bid the coachman go on, making their way across the field in the dark, without the least danger of pursuit.

This was a capital stroke, and not to be offered at very often; and as for the place, the gentlemen inhabitants caused the number of watchmen to be increased, and the watchmen to come earlier, and so they might come home with safety.

But the vast extent of this over-built city afforded too many dark passages and places fitted for such matters as this, and it would require an army of watchmen to prevent it.

The next, or one of their next attempts was on a gentleman's coach, who, with his family, had appointed to set out very early on his journey, somewhere into the west of England. It was by one of their spies that they got the intelligence of this gentleman, his journey, the time of his setting out, what servants he took with him, their names, and description of their horses, and a little of what things of value he had with him, and what money.

As they watched him exactly out, they prepared everything and took all their measures accordingly. One of the servants rode a little before the coach, and the other was a little behind. The gang at this enterprise was the same number as before — five. One runs forward to the servant before, and calls to him, and tells him, "William, you must go ride away to Hyde Park Gate, and call up the gatekeeper to let the coach through, and tell him to rise immediately, and Sir John will give him half-a-crown." "Yes," says William, and away he rides.

Another appointed for the purpose comes running after the hindermost man, as if out of breath, calling, "John, John!" Accordingly John stops. "Mrs. Abigail sent me to desire you for God's sake to come back, for my lady has left her little box of laces behind her, which she will be very angry at, and she stands at the door ready to give it you;" and so the fellow stopped to go back too, as if his business was done; and so it was — for the man William being gone away before, and the man John of a fool's errand back again — in the meantime the other three rob the coach, where, Fame told us, they took in money and jewels the value of two hundred pounds; and Sir John, no servants being to be seen to help him, was obliged to submit, for fear of frighting my lady, so the journey was stopped. Sir John ordered the coach to turn about and go home, and there he learned how his two servants were managed; which, I suppose, when he set out again, he took care to prevent, and which is mentioned here to hint to all gentlemen that travel thus with an equipage and servants, [that they] should cause those servants to keep always near the coach, and always near one another.

After these two successful attempts, they could not want opportunities of the like, and they had nothing to do but to watch for coaches that set out early; and not finding many gentlemen going before day, they turned their hand to stage-coaches, inquiring out the flying-coaches, who, going long stages, are obliged to be going very early; and these they set upon always before they got off the stones, and robbed several of them with very good success on their side, as the Southampton and the Salisbury, Gloucester, Colchester coaches, and several others, and in some they got good booty.

But in the full course of their successes, Mr.

Blewet in particular, who was a great officer among them, fell into the hands of justice, as also —— and ——. They lay some time in prison, and then were brought to trial; —— and —— were convicted, and both executed; but Blewet got off upon milder terms, and obtained for that time to be transported. But to make the story brief, as the title suggests it should be, he was transported with three more; who, though not altogether so far entered as himself, yet were after sufficiently hardened to enter into the gang with him; and it was not long before he, and three with him, found their way all home again.

Some tell us it was at this time that Blewet, being with about thirty other convicts shipped off according to sentence, and the ship fallen down the river in order to sail, a design was formed among them to rise all together in the night, upon a signal given, and cutting the throats of as many of the seamen as they could not otherwise secure, run the ship on shore, and so make their escapes; and that Blewet, on a promise of his pardon and his liberty, discovered the plot to the captain, by which means he got off, and the rest were taken care of, so as to disable them from farther carrying on the design. Some also add, that notwithstanding he betrayed this design, he was the very man that proposed it first to the rest, and that he did it with that view, not to execute it, for he was not a complete hardened cut-throat at that time, but with a resolution to discover it, that he might make his own market at the expense of the rest. Be this as it will, for we cannot arrive to a certainty of what his most early design was, this is certain, that he did discover it, and obtained his liberty by that means, but did not get a pardon as was promised, some accident intervening that prevented it.

His three comrades, I say, went off, and were safely

landed in Virginia, but found their way back again, though the time of terms of their transportation was not expired by far; and one of them having afterwards found it convenient to fall to the old business again, got at last into the hands of Jonathan Wild, and being upon ill terms with Jonathan on former accounts, was left to the law, and though he had not done any considerable exploits since his return, was hanged upon the single point of returning.

This was one of the articles which, as I have said, the gang never forgave Jonathan for, but vowed his destruction; and which one of them, that is Blueskin, attempted afterwards in the boldest manner, and which showed what desperate people they had now to deal with.

From this time, indeed, the whole gang hardened themselves with resolutions to murder every one that should attempt to betray or discover them; and that if any of their comrades should be betrayed and brought to justice, the rest would murder them wherever they could come at them.

This they pretended was a kind of justice, as well to their friend or friends which should be so betrayed, as to themselves for their own preservation. But it did not end here, for having seasoned their minds with blood, though not yet dipped their hands in it, and having made the resolution of killing familiar to their thoughts from this time, they provided themselves with screw-barrelled pistols, and resolved, on all their ordinary common robberies, to kill anybody that resisted, or so much as attempted to escape them.

This was never practised before by this kind of gentry, I mean street thieves, for none but highwaymen or housebreakers used to carry pistols. But the consequence was that this put them upon attempts of a more desperate nature, and more considerable

in their consequences, for now they resolved to set upon gentlemen, ladies, coaches, anything and anybody and at any time, when and where opportunity should offer.

The gang being now very strong, they resolved to separate and divide themselves into smaller parties, and act with more or fewer hands as they should see occasion. Some took to the fields, and fell upon people walking for their diversion into retired places, and out of the way, and others going on business; and you are not to wonder that within two or three years past you have heard of more such robberies than ever before, and that several people have been found murdered, drowned in the New River, and in ponds, and the like; for the barbarous creatures now made no more of the blood of an innocent man or woman than of a dog; and some they murdered that resisted, and others that never resisted at all. Thus we cannot doubt that these gangs killed one man in the fields near Holloway, another in the road near Islington, another between Haggerston and Hackney, another behind Chelsea, all which murders, and many more, too many to reckon up, are yet undiscovered, and are like to be so till they are confessed, perhaps at the gallows, when the murderers may come to their reward for other crimes.

But the six leaders, whose particular progress we are now inquiring into, were not, at least that I have yet learned, in any of these exploits; and though they were sometimes out upon the lay in the fields, and were acquainted in all the byways and retired walks that I mention, as appears by their being so well known at the house behind Islington, called Copenhagen, Black Mary's Hole, all mentioned in their examinations, and where Barton, one of the gang that was executed last sessions, was just before he was taken; yet I do not find them concerned in

any of the attempts made in those parts that have come to my knowledge, so I shall not charge them with it.

But if they were not employed in those parts, they were not idle; and Blewet, who was bred up to the diving trade, as is said, acted so many clever parts by the extraordinary sleight of his hand, which he was so much master of, that they would fill a volume by themselves, if to be particularly described; while Bunworth, who was bred a hardware man, being a buckle-maker, the same trade with Jack Sheppard, and as exquisitely capable as he to the full, applied himself to breaking into shops and houses and the like, as things presented.

This, indeed, when done to perfection, afforded them the greatest booty, and they went sometimes off with things of great value; as their companion Barton did, who was tried for three of these exploits, with his companion Marjoram, who discovered him; and (even here Barton showed his bloody resolution) to make good what I have said, they had vowed to kill all those who should offer to betray or detect them; for when Marjoram was carried before the justice in the open streets, and in the middle of the day, he offered to kill him boldly, firing a pistol at him when he was in the constable's hand, and yet made his escape for that time.

The gang being thus hardened, went on with success, and particularly in their street-robberies and house-breaking, in which Bunworth and Dickenson were most particularly dexterous, as well as Barton. But Blewet kept to his own way, as he called it. He had formerly been used to get up behind hackney-coaches, and cutting the leather of the coach's back with a knife, which was done with the utmost swiftness of motion; at the same moment, with the other hand, he whipped off the gentleman's wig who sat in

the coach; and this being in the night, before a gentleman, surprised with the attack, could call the coachman to stop, the thief had his full time to get off; nor was ever any of them known to be taken in that kind of attack, though nobody ever practised it but Blewet, and one ——, who, it seems, was transported for some other piece of practice of the same kind, and has not been since heard of.

But Blewet, being not satisfied with these little pieces of roguery, his genius being above it, he waited to take some steps of a bolder kind; and for an experiment, as he had been principal in that successful job in Lincoln's Inn Fields, he resolved upon something of that kind again. It was a very dark night, and late, when he and two of the fraternity stood upon the watch at the upper end of Cheapside, when seeing a hackney-coach with a gentleman and a lady in it extremely well dressed going westward, and that the lady in particular had jewels on, they waited upon the coach down the east end of St. Paul's; when, happily for their project, just beyond St. Paul's School, two coaches meeting, having passed too near one another in the dark, locked in their wheels together, and not being able to get clear immediately, made a little stop. In this moment they ran up to the coach, and one of them presenting a pistol to the gentleman, bade him give him his money immediately, the same instant the other putting his hand in to the lady, laid fast hold of her watch, which it seems they had had a glance of before by the light of the lamp, and told her she must deliver it immediately, or she would be shot dead and the gentleman too. The lady began to scream, but he told her civilly, if she offered to cry out, he must be forced to kill her, and bade her be easy, and he would do her no hurt; so she took off her watch and gave it to him; and the gentleman at the same time

gave the other his purse with seventeen guineas; and all was over so very soon, and so exactly in the same moment, that the gentleman did not know his lady was robbed, nor she that her husband was, but only thought that the coachman had talked to him.

While this was doing, a third man stepped up close to the fore-wheel and held the coachman in a chat about the two coachmen that made the stop, but kept his eye upon him, so that if the coachman had offered to come down or out of his box, he was to have made sure of him with a brace of bullets in his belly; so that they did their work very securely, and made off with their booty, without any pursuit or notice in the world.

This was too encouraging a business not to be well followed, and the very next night the same set of them boldly stopped a gentleman in his own coach in the long street on the south side of St. Paul's, a little to the eastward of the south portico of the church, and two of them stepping up to the coachman, said nothing to him, but cut the reins which he held the horses by, and withal let him know, softly speaking, that if he called out he was a dead man; while they did this, a third stopped the horses from going forward, and that instant one of the first two comes back to the coach side and robbed the gentleman, where they got a diamond ring of good value, a watch, and some gold, and then left the coachman to mend his bridles as well as he could.

Not content with this, the very same night, in the dark, they stopped a hackney-coach on pretence of calling to the coachman with the word "Hold!" as if the gentleman in the coach had called; while the coachman stopped, the gentleman put out his head to ask the fellow what he stopped for; and the coachman was getting down to know what the gentleman called for; in the meantime the nimble-handed thief

snatched off the gentleman's periwig and made off, without leaving them any possibility of pursuing him, or so much as to know which way he went.

These were not only very advantageous adventures, but they were attended with so little hazard, and there was such a kind of assurance of escape, that, in short, it brought more practitioners into it presently; and several of the gangs, who had taken to other business, turned their hands to this, there being, as they said very well, almost a certainty of getting off, and very good purchase to be made too; in a word, they must be fools that did not see it was the best business of its kind they could go about, and there was room also for the whole gang to come in if they thought fit.

On a sudden we found street-robberies became the common practice, conversation was full of the variety of them, the newspapers had them every day, and sometimes more than were ever committed; and those that were committed were set off by the invention of the writers, with so many particulars, and so many more than were ever heard of by the persons robbed, that made the facts be matter of entertainment, and either pleasant or formidable, as the authors thought fit, and perhaps, sometimes, made formal robberies, *in nubibus*, to furnish out amusements for their readers.

But be that as it will, the real facts were innumerable, and the real robberies actually committed so many, and carried on with such desperate boldness, and ofttimes with blood, that it became unsafe to walk the streets late at night, or within the night or evenings, if the nights were dark, and people were afraid to go about their business.

Nor was it without cause, for the trade grew upon their hands, and so many opportunities presented every day for purchase, as they call it, that if

a check had not been put to it by the vigilance of the magistrates, and the Government itself felt concerned, I believe there would, in a little time, have been not one of the gang employed in any other business.

It was to no purpose that the citizens in some places set an early watch, and in other places doubled, or at least increased, their number; and coaches, as well stage-coaches as hackney-coaches and gentlemen's coaches, were robbed in the open streets, the first early in the morning, the other late at night, and sometimes in open day; and as for particular persons, it would be endless to go about to enter particulars of them; for the gang now increasing, they seemed to be rather an army of thieves than a society to act, not in concert with one another, but that, in short, every one went upon his own adventures, and strolling about as their fate and fancy led them, fell in with every accidental mischief that offered, and the streets swarmed with rogues, and people were set upon by day as well as by night, upon every occasion that offered.

How they carried their game on, indeed, is hard to describe; but [of] what success they had in many of their enterprises common fame has furnished the particulars from the mouths of the sufferers themselves, and a few of which, more eminent than others, are as follow: —

About the beginning of last winter they seemed to be in the meridian of their success; the audacious rogues valued themselves upon being called Cartoucheans, and boasted that they outdid Cartouche himself, for they could not be taken, and this encouraged them extremely.

Indeed, the West End of the town was very thin of inhabitants at that time, the Court absent, the Parliament in recess, the term ended, and the gentle-

men generally keeping their Christmas in the country, so that there were always enough gentlemen at home for these people to practise upon; yet the streets were thin, and in some places much unfrequented, the great houses shut up, footmen and servants gone, and the new streets about Hanover Square and Soho in particular were, as it were, often empty of people.

This gave them such opportunities, that five of them set upon a coach with three ladies in the middle of the day, in a street going from Piccadilly to Cavendish Square; and though an outcry was raised by a female servant, who discovered it from a window of a house, yet it had no effect, but that one of the gang had the impudence to fire up at the poor maid and break the window, which, to be sure, frighted her sufficiently, so that she durst not cry out any more; and all the gang, after rifling the ladies to a considerable value, made off without being pursued.

After this we had every newspaper filled with the variety of their enterprises: gentlemen were attacked in the streets almost every night, nor coaches or chairs could protect them; the ladies were so terrified, that they durst not venture out in the night without servants like a guard to attend them; and those that had not servants sufficient, took care to stay at home, or to keep very good hours, and only to drive in the most public streets.

As this alarmed the whole town, so the magistrates and officers everywhere doubled their application in order to apprehend them; and some, as in all such cases generally happens, falling into the hands of justice, they were persuaded as much as possible, by hopes of rewards and promises of pardon, to discover their accomplices; and though this did not go far, yet some knowledge was gotten by

this means of the most notorious heads and leaders of the gangs.

By this means they were gradually detected; and thus Blueskin and Sheppard, and several others, fell into the hands of the law, and the fate of the rest approached apace.

It seems, among the persons most industrious to detect them, who, upon encouragement given by the law, as well as perhaps private encouragement promised him, had made several attempts to apprehend them, was one Thomas Ball, who lived in or near the Mint, in Southwark; and as he perfectly knew the men, and perhaps some of their haunts too (how he came acquainted with them is none of my business to inquire), so he fastened upon one of them, named Lennard, or Leonard, whom he took, and was actually in prison at that time.

Whether this Ball had given out threatening words that he was in search for the rest, and that he did not doubt that he should soon secure them, as some say he did, I am not sure; if he did, I think he was very weak as to his own safety, for he that knew the men could not but know what a bloody and desperate gang they were, and might easily have concluded they would do the same mad thing to secure themselves, perhaps to his cost. But if Ball did not boast that he would take them, they gave information that he endeavoured it, and that he was upon the scout after them, and particularly after Bunworth and Blewet, upon which they soon resolved to deliver themselves from the fear of it, by disposing of Mr. Ball, and placing it out of his power to hurt them. They met all together in the fields beyond Islington some days before, and there, it seems, they concerted the fact, and one said to the other, "Jack, will you go?" and another, "Tom, will you go?" and all agreeing, they appointed the

unhappy day, and at Copenhagen ale-house beyond Islington, as I am informed, they cast bullets for the wicked design.

On the 24th of January the whole gang met together by appointment, that is to say, the six that were condemned, Majoram, the evidence against them, and one Wilson, not yet taken; these all took water at Blackfriars Stairs, and went to one Jewell's, a music-house in St. George's Fields, which was not far from Mr. Ball's house.

Here they waited, drank, dined, and danced, expecting Ball should have come there; but finding he did not, and being told on inquiring that he seldom came to that house, they broke up in the evening, and went directly to his house. Bunworth, Blewet, and Dickenson went in, and having asked for Mr. Ball, sat down. Soon after, Mr. Ball being called, came into the room, but showed very much surprise to see the bloody gang there, for he knew them well enough, and, as is supposed, might have heard that they had threatened his life, and therefore he might easily judge they came for no good; whereupon, speaking to Blewet, he said, "Mr. Blewet, I hope you have no ill design against me, for I never meant you any harm in my life." Blewet answered him with an oath, that if he had, he would put it out of his power to do it, or to that purpose; with which words Bunworth, the real murderer, and at whose instigation the whole plot was laid, steps up to Mr. Ball, and taking him by the hand, lifted up his left arm, and with his other hand fired a pistol upon him, the bullet entering his left pap, passed through his heart, and he dropped and died immediately. An outcry of murder being immediately raised in the house, and the people gathering about the door, Blewet went to the door, and threatened the people, if they did not, as he called it, go about their business. After a minute or two, finding the crowd

increase, he fired a pistol among them, but, as it is supposed, fired over their heads, for nobody was hurt, which must have been if he had fired directly among them; upon which the mob fled and dispersed, and the murderers made their escape without being pursued.

Though this barbarous murder made a great noise, and the names of Bunworth and Blewet were known to be of the number, for Mr. Ball's wife or some of his family knew them also, yet they having all made their escape, they triumphed in the villainy, and went on hardened in the old trade, and several robberies were committed by them after the murder; nay, as was testified upon their trial, they boasted after the murder was committed that they had "tipped it on" Ball, a canting term, it seems, for a bullet through the heart.

Nor did they forbear pursuing their games, for they robbed two gentlemen going from the opera after this, and another gentleman in a chair near St. James's, within call of the very guards; but the chairmen were now so awed by them that they would stand still at command without any resistance, otherwise they were sure to be murdered.

This made so much noise, and the danger appeared so evident, that when any noblemen or persons of distinction went from Court later than ordinary, the guards were ordered to make little detachments to wait on them for their security; and as for private persons, it was not safe, in short, to stir out after it was dark.

These things coming to the ears of the public, awakened the justice of the nation, and convinced our Government that it was necessary to apply some speedy remedy to a mischief that was grown to such a height; and the Government having a full account also of the horrid murder of poor Ball, a proclama-

tion was published, with a reward of £300 to any one who should discover the murderers, so as to cause them to be apprehended and convicted; also a farther reward to any one that should discover any street murder or robbery.

This proclamation so disconcerted the gang that they presently separated, not daring to trust one another; and it was not long but that one of them, namely, Legee, was taken, by the information of some of their comrades, we yet are not certain who, and a little after Bunworth himself. But Blewet, taking the alarm, and having formerly been in Holland, he resolved to be gone, and communicating his design to Dickenson and Berry only, he takes them with him, and found means to get safe into Holland.

Had they acted with as much prudence in their passage and after their arrival in Holland as they did with policy in getting away from hence, they had been secure; for as they were landed safe, had they immediately taken the passage-boat to Willemstad, and so gone over into Flanders, and from thence into the country of Liège, where there is no English resident, their lives had been their own.

But their own tongues betrayed them, and their behaviour presently rendered them suspected; and the proclamation appearing there as well as here, they were apprehended at the instance of the British Minister at the Hague, and secured till orders might be received from England to dispose of them.

During this time one of the gang, named Marjoram, was taken here, or surrendered himself in order to become evidence against the rest. This is the same who was shot at in the street as he was carrying before my lord mayor.

The man who shot at him was Barton, one of the best proficiency in the hellish trade of housebreaking, and especially a bold, enterprising, daring fellow, as

appeared by that attempt made to shoot that fellow in the street, with a large crowd of people about him; and yet was so dexterous as to make his escape, and come off untaken. But the prisoner, that is Marjoram, knew him and his haunts too, and soon directed the officers to look for him, so that in a few days after he was apprehended also, and being brought to trial, Marjoram made himself evidence against him; Barton was convicted last sessions, and executed a few days after.

By this time another of them, namely, Higgs or Higgidee, who had shifted off by himself, had cunningly entered himself as a sailor on board one of his Majesty's ships of war at Spithead, and had he not been discovered by the information of some, who 't is probable he had trusted with the secret, or otherwise by his own inadvertency, he might have carried on the disguise, and the ship being appointed to one of the West Indian squadron, he would soon have been out of the reach of justice, at least for the present; but the Government having information of it, messengers were sent down to bring him up, which accordingly was done; and now they had all the murderers together that they could come at, for here was seven out of eight in custody, and 't is hoped the eighth may be heard of in time.

Orders were also sent to Holland, to the British Resident at the Hague, to obtain leave of the States to send over those three who had been secured there, which was readily granted, and they were sent over, having a guard of six Dutch musketeers to secure them in the ship or vessel they came in, lest they should get loose and make any mutiny, or do any desperate thing for their escape; and by this means they were brought safe over.

As soon as they arrived, they were carried with an additional guard of soldiers from the Tower up to

Westminster, where they were examined by Justice Blackerby, several noble lords and persons of quality being present. In this examination they were confronted by several witnesses as to their particular haunts for some days before the murder, and were traced as near to the fact as could be done; at which time there appeared sufficient grounds for their commitment, and they were accordingly committed to Newgate.

Blewet, they said, behaved very decently before Justice Blackerby, and defended himself against what evidence appeared at that time as well as could be expected; yet he could not so entirely conceal the guilt he had upon him as not to give room to discern it, even in the midst of an undaunted carriage. However, as the cause was not to be tried there, and all the examinations at that time ended only in a commitment, they were not put to any formal defence before the Justice.

It would look as if we were diverting ourselves with the miseries of these despicable creatures if we should enter here into a long account of their behaviour when they all met together in the prison: their Newgate conversation, how void of all decency, or indeed of temper, how outrageously impudent, hardened, and abandoned; such a brutal, not manly courage, for that is quite of another nature; such insensibility as to their condition, jesting with and bantering one another about their condition, making a sport of death, and even of hell itself; in a word, such an open defying either God or man, as I think is not to be equalled, and the like of which has scarcely been, no, not in Newgate itself, and if not there, I may venture to say nowhere.

As to Mr. Frazier, or Bunworth, he was by trade a buckle-maker, as was Mr. Sheppard before him, and by that means a very ingenious mechanic, and no

sooner had he met with bolts and chains and fetters, which in a little after his coming to Newgate he found heavy, but he cut through them all, and cut his way out of several apartments one into another, and was in a fair way of making his escape, and perhaps the rest by his means. But it was timely discovered, and he was then secured after a different manner, being chained down to the floor in the condemned hold.

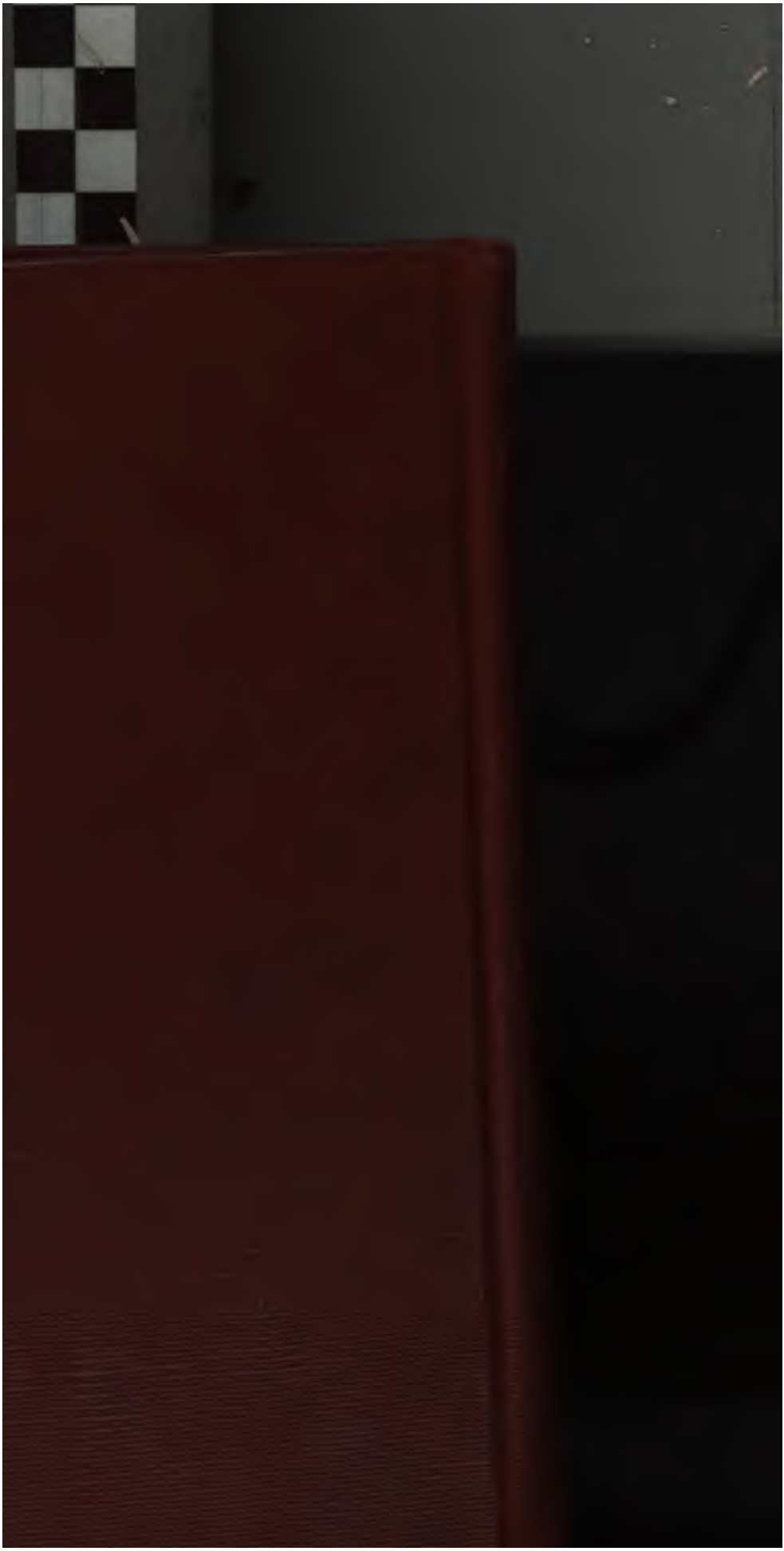
Here it was he put the rest of the prisoners, who were appointed for execution after their trials last sessions, upon an attempt to make their escape, and at last, not having time to go through with that part, to make a mutiny, and barricading the door, kept out the keeper who came to have them out for execution.

Had they been able to keep themselves alive where they pretended so to close up the door, it would have something of sense in it; but as it was an impossibility, it was only a piece of desperation, and they all laid it to the charge of Bunworth, who, they said, would not let them be at rest till they had consented to have it done.

Those poor fellows having submitted, and being all executed (two whereof were of the grand gang), Bunworth was left alone, but in a very few days, the three being landed from Holland, six of them met together in Newgate, and that so opportunely for their despatch, that coming to Newgate about the 26th of March, the proper officers had time to carry them to the assizes at Kingston, the 30th; whereas had they been four or five days longer, they must have been kept six months in prison, till next assizes. But justice followed them close at the heels, and they had not been above ten days in England but they were brought to the bar.

The account of their behaviour there is known.

Bunworth refused to plead, and did it so obstinately that they were obliged to carry him away to be pressed to death, and he endured the torture of it almost an hour; but not being able either to die or live, the torment being lingering, he at last submitted, and was carried into court again, where he pleaded not guilty, as the rest did. The evidence was plain against them, being the same Marjoram who was in the fact, who I have mentioned before, whose evidence being positive as to the design of murder, and being just at the door, with the rest, where it was committed, and being corroborated by those who were in the very room and saw it done, and by abundant concurring circumstances, they were all convicted.

I might have given a particular account of their extravagant behaviour when they were removed from Newgate, how they drank, rallied, jested, and huzzaed as they went into the waggon, and as they went along the streets, as also at all the places they went through upon the road, and even when they came to Kingston. But we have not room for this part of their history, nor is it of value otherwise than to let the reader see to what a height a desperate, abandoned wretch may be carried to, even in spite of the misery of chains and fetters, in spite of all terrors of approaching death, and which is more than all, in spite of a weight of guilt upon the mind, for the worst and blackest of crimes.

THE END.